



# TRAVANCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES

Vol. V. Part I.

BY

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Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore State.

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Stone and Copper-Plate Inscriptions of Travancore

with 5 plates

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## No. 1.—The rock-cut cave at Kaviyūr.

The *List of Antiquities* of the Travancore State compiled in manuscript by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has the following note against Kaviyūr, a village 4 miles north-east of Tiruvalla, the head-quarters of the taluk of the same name in the Quilon Dn.

“Besides the Siva temple in the village, there is a rock-cut shrine dedicated to the same god in this place. From the sculptures in it, it could be assigned to the 7th century A. D. It has no inscriptions however.”

This place was therefore visited not only for an inspection of this ancient rock-cut temple, an architectural feature not so common in the West Coast, but also for the purpose of checking the inscriptions published on pages 288 and 289 of Volume I of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, with a view to fill in certain blank spaces left untranscribed in them. In the case of the latter, the *in situ* examination has yielded good results and the texts of the inscriptions, as now revised, have also been given below.

Before proceeding to describe the cave at Kaviyūr, it will not be out of place here to trace the genesis of cave architecture in South India and make a comparative study of this cave with similar excavations lying scattered elsewhere in the Madras Presidency.

It is a recognised fact in the history of South Indian temple architecture that rock-cut temples were an epoch-making innovation introduced by the great Pallava king Mahēndravarmā I (600-630), a pre-eminent figure among the early sovereigns of that dynasty and a cultured patron of letters and art, himself the author of a burlesque in Sanskrit, who on conversion by saint Appar (Tirunāvukkaraiyār) from Jainism to the Śaivite cult exhibited his fervour by excavating temples in honor of the god of his new faith at several places within his dominions *viz.*, Trichinopoly, Pallāvaram, Māmapūṇḍūr, Śiyamaṅgalam, Mahēndravāḍi<sup>1</sup> and Duḷavānūr. In one such unfinished cave excavated perhaps under his personal supervision at Maṇḍagappattu in the Chingleput District, he has boasted of his achievement in the following inscription:—

एतदनिष्टकमद्रुममलोहमसुषं विचित्रचित्तेन निर्मापितन्मृपेण ब्रह्मेश्वरविष्णुलक्षितायतनम् ।<sup>2</sup>

and has, here and elsewhere, complimented himself with the titles ‘*Vichitrachitta*’ (the original-minded) and ‘*Chitrakārapulī*’ (*chaityakārapulī*? the excavator of *chaityas* or cave-temples), two *birudas* which he had deservedly earned on account of the new style of temples which his genius was able to introduce in South India. The negations specified in the description of the cave at Maṇḍagappattu presuppose the existence, before the time of this king, of temples which were usually

1. Compare: कर्तितं गुणभरेण विदार्य्य शिलाम् । (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 153.)

2. *Mahēndravarmā Inscription*, page 2.

constructed of brick, timber, metal and mortar; and it is due to the impermanent nature of these building materials that no such temples constructed prior to the seventh century are extant now in their entirety. The discovery of a detached pillar of the cave-pillar type set up in a *maṇḍapa* in the Ēkāmrāṇṭha temple at Conjeeveram<sup>1</sup> and containing several indisputable titles of this Pallava king, goes also a long way to confirm the above statement that earlier structural temples even in his own reign were of perishable material in which granite did not preponderate and that the Maṇḍagappāṭṭu cave temple was perhaps the first of its kind excavated by him in South India on the model, presumably, of the caves at Uṇḍavalli and Bezwada in the north.

The rock temples excavated by this king present certain common features in plan and design which enable us to fix their authorship without great difficulty, and they have therefore been classified by Dr. Dubreuil of Pondicherry under one group called 'the Mahendra style'. They have an unornamental façade which is generally the eastern or western face of the rock in which they are cut and, on plan, show a small square chamber for the location of the presiding deity and a rectangular hall in front, the roof of which is supported by rock-cut pillars and pilasters of a peculiar rugainly type called the 'cave-pillars'. These solid pillars hewn out of the rock consist of three sections, the top and bottom portions being in the form of cubes about 2' in dimension each side, while their middle portions are short shafts with chamfered corners and an octagonal section obtained by bevelling off the angles of the cubical portions; *i. e.* they are combination pillars of the *brahmakānta* and the *viṣṇukānta* varieties. The faces of the upper and lower cubes are bare, but are also sometimes ornamented with medallions of conventional lotuses resembling those found on the Buddhist rails. These pillars have no separate capitals and are surmounted by simple brackets or corbels whose ends which are rounded upwards, are either bare or sometimes decorated with horizontal rows of roll ornament. The massive and rather inequith proportions of these pillars suggest that they were tentative experimentations in pillar chiselling, while the pioneer architects of the rock excavations were apprehensive as to the proper pillar strength necessary to support the enormous load of solid granite above; but with increased experience and training the southern craftsmen evolved in the succeeding styles of cave temples well-designed pillars (probably after wooden models), which though they missed the antique architectural effect and stability of the earlier type were decidedly of greater elegance and of better proportions. The rectangular hall in front of the sanctuary sometimes contains one or more panels of excellent sculpture representing some paranic theme Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava without great distinction. The central shrine in the excavations of Mahendravarman's time is a square chamber with plain undecorated walls, enshrining a cylindrical *linga* hewn out of the rock with a *yōni*-pedestal of the usual type. Two *dvārapālas* guard its entrance, each one standing in a niche on either side of the doorway and leaning on a sinister-looking bludgeon, his staff of office. The floor of the hall of the cave is raised a few feet above the natural ground level and is reached by a flight of three or four rock-cut steps, and the central shrine is again slightly more elevated than this hall. In front, the two-feet-wide verandah is generally sheltered by a heavy projecting cornice also cut out of the rock either

1. *Ibid.* page 6.

plain or decorated with the 'dormer-window' ornament. This, in short, is a typical excavation of the great Mahēndravarman's time.

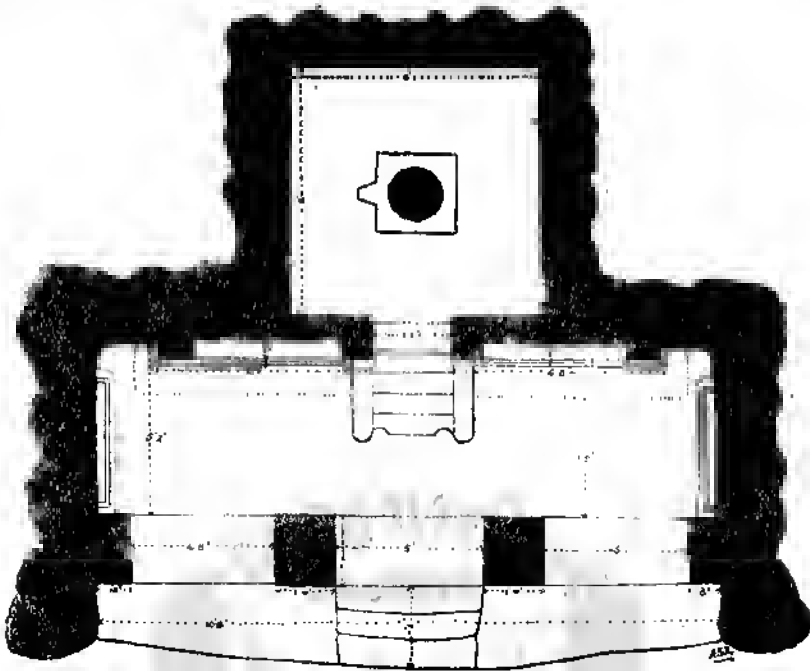


Fig. 1.

The Kaviyūr cave whose site plan is given above presents many points of similarity to the early type of rock-cut temples just now described. In common with the generality of Pallava excavations of Mahēndravarman's time, this cave has the usual orientation of a Śiva's shrine, its entrance facing west, the direction of the setting sun: and the cave has therefore been scooped out in the eastern of two massive boulders fronting each other and separated by a fissure nearly 15' wide, on the summit of a low hillock of a friable variety of rock and debris, that raises its head above the surrounding coconut plantations, half a mile to the north of the principal Śiva temple of the village. The rock is of a coarse texture and the cave and the sculptures in it have therefore easily lent themselves to decay on account of the disintegrating action both of age and the weather. The wall surfaces and other portions have not been dressed with precision and neatness as in the case of excavations in closer-grained rock.

The floor of the cave is a few feet above the natural ground level and is approached by a flight of three crude steps hollowed out of the rock itself. In front is a narrow verandah  $2\frac{1}{2}'$  wide unprotected by the usual convex cornice moulding, and two grooves have therefore been cut at the ends of the top to receive a long wooden beam spanning the width of the cave, from which a temporary sunshade could be projected in timber or other cheaper material. The cave is  $19'8''$  broad and  $8\frac{1}{2}'$  high.

Two pillars  $8'8''$  in height divide the breadth of the cave into three openings two of which are each  $5'$  broad, while that on the proper right is

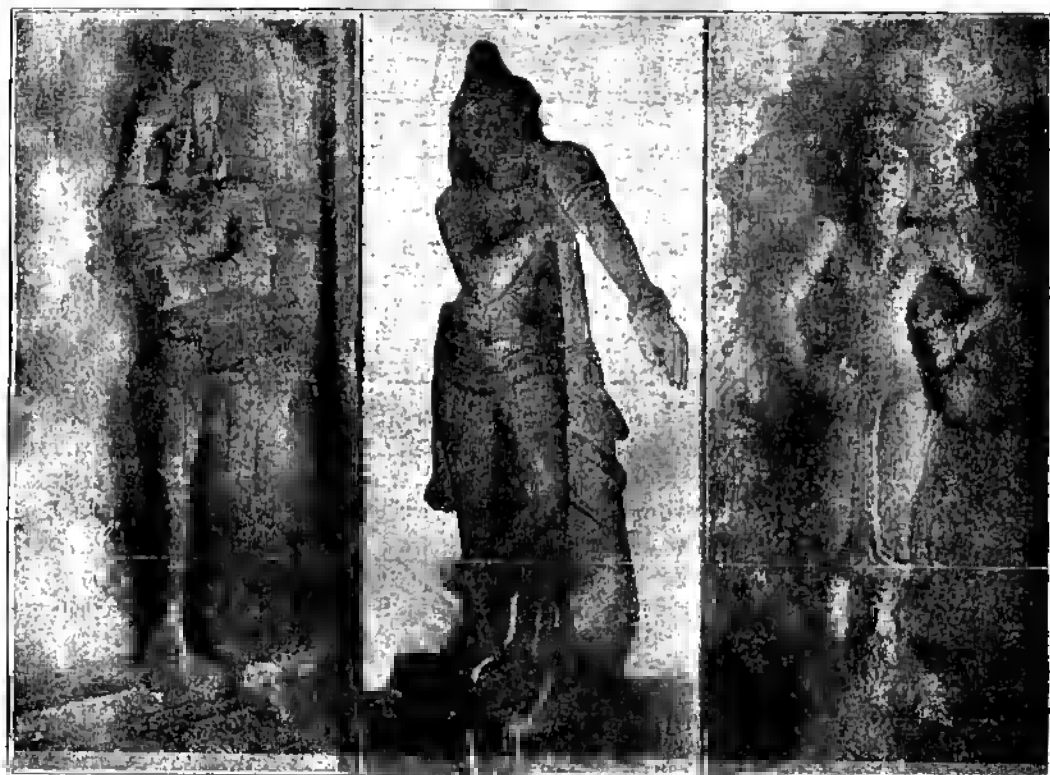
slightly smaller, being only 4' 8". The two pillars are of the early Pallava cave-type but their bottom and top portions do not form perfect cubes, as the pillars slightly taper upwards. The top block measures 1' 7" by 2' 2" and is 1' 4" in height, while the bottom portion is slightly bigger in dimensions being 1' 10" by 2' 2" and 2' 10" in height. The octagonal shaft is 3' 3" high and its facets vary from 7" to 9" in width. The simple corbels which surmount these pillars are 2' 3" deep and their ends which are turned upwards are decorated with a slight variant of the usual roll ornament in horizontal rows. To balance the view of the façade there are two pilasters at either extremity of the opening, the one on the proper right being 8" in projection and the other nearly 10".

The central shrine is a square cell measuring 8' each side and has a level ceiling whose height is slightly less than that of the other portions of the cave. This chamber is absolutely devoid of ornamentation and enshrines in its centre a cylindrical rock-cut *linga* whose crude *yoni*-pedestal is a separate piece slipped on to it through its socket. The door-jamb and sill of the entrance appear to have been replaced at a later date after the original portions of the rock-cut entrance had perhaps deteriorated.

The rectangular hall in front of this sanctum measures 19' 8" by 5' and contains, one on either side of the doorway, two niches 6' 5" broad and 6' 3" high mounted on 2 feet pedestals of the ordinary variety consisting of three rows of plain band ornament. The niches are flanked by pilasters each 11" broad and 6' 3" high, which support at their tops double brackets surmounted by a plain architrave contiguous to the ceiling. The niche to the left of the entrance contains a life-size figure of a *dvārapāla*, who is limb for limb a replica of the door-keeper guarding the entrance at the left in the Mahāendravarman cave at Trichinopoly. His head dress is tall and conical and from beneath it his locks fall in picturesque curls on his shoulder. He leans with an aggressive attitude on a formidable club round which a cobra has entwined itself. He wears no *yajñōpavīta* and the ornaments that adorn him are the *karnakṛāḍalā*, the *brhmāla*, the *udarabandha*, the *bāhuvālāya*, and the *śruṅgāstra*. The corresponding figure in the other panel is not a duplicate of this door-keeper, as one would expect to find, but cuts a different pose. He has his hands crossed on his breast and stands with head slightly bent in a respectful attitude of attention. He wears his hair in a tangled mass knotted in the middle (*jatāmakuta*) and the ornaments that decorate his person are the same as those of his comrade on his right. But though he does not wield the club, the insigne of his culling as gate-keeper, he has to be identified as such in as much as these personages are always represented in pairs in front of Śiva and Viṣṇu temples. It is a point worth noting that both these chamberlains are tall, well-knit figures with only two muscular hands—an anatomical feature characteristic of early sculptures.

The northern and southern wings of this hall also contain respectively a well-executed image of Gaṇeśa with four hands and a standing life-size figure of a bearded man. It may be noted that a similar rock-cut Śiva temple at Ariṭṭapatti in the Mēlūr taluk of the Madura District also contains an image of Gaṇeśa in one wing of the porch in front of the *garbhagriha*. As for the individual with the





peaked beard his identity cannot well be established in the absence of any elucidative labels or inscriptions in the cave itself. He wears his hair in the top-knot fashion peculiar to the west coast and his pendulous ears which are much damaged, show indications of having once been decorated with ear rings. He has no *ya-jñōpavīta*, but wears only a lower cloth hanging up to his shins in the orthodox mode. His feet are broken off at the instep on account of the decomposition of the coarse-grained rock. He keeps his arms akimbo, and his left hand which rests on his hip, also holds a jug-like vessel with an oval body, a long stoppered neck and a short thick spout. The shape of this vessel is peculiar unlike that of its modern counterpart, the *gāṇḍī*, the popular utensil in every Malayāli household and reminds one curiously of a Greek vase or a Mughal hukka, with which specimens however it could never have had an affinity whatsoever. As the image represented cannot be that of any divinity known to iconography, it may be presumed that it stands for a portrait-statue of perhaps the author of the cave itself; but the question as to who and what he was, whether he was a royal personage or a private individual, is a poser for the solution of which, the cave furnishes no clue except that from the general appearance and style of the excavation, one may not be far wrong in assigning it to the 8th century A. D. or thereabouts.

In this connection, it is worthy of consideration that stone epigraphs of Chēra kings are not found to the south of Tiruvalla and that even the neighbouring temples at Peruncyil and Tirukkāṭṭānam, which are *structural* monuments of the circular *vēsara* type peculiar to Malabar, contain inscriptions of Bhāskara-Ravi-varman<sup>1</sup> of the end of the 10th century A. D., while the Śiva temple at Kaviyūr<sup>2</sup> itself, another notable example of the same type, contains two stone records dated so early as Kali 4051 and 4052, i. e., A. D. 950-51. The cave-temple can therefore be presumed to have come into existence during Chēra rule at some date prior to this later limit. Popular tradition, here as elsewhere, attributes its excavation to supernatural agency and one such yarn, an obvious copy of the myth current at Rāmēśvaram regarding an identical incident, actually derives the name of the village Kaviyūr from Kapi, the monkey-god (Hanumān), who is stated to have installed a *līṅga* and constructed a temple here for his master's worship. Instances of similar fanciful derivations of place-names are not rare in the *sthala-purāṇas*; but it is extremely doubtful if Rama ever paid a visit to Kaviyūr in his southern perigrinations and requisitioned his aid-de-camp to bring a *līṅga* for his worship at that particular place. A rational explanation for the origin and date of the cave will be to suggest that it was excavated on the design of similar caves existing elsewhere in the Trichy, Madura and Tinnevely Districts, with which models the sculptor of the Kaviyūr cave may have been familiar. The Pallava king Narasimhavarman I (c. 630-68) himself claims to have vanquished the Kēraḷas,<sup>3</sup> and if this is not a mere boast, it will mean that this meeting may have served as an occasion for the knowledge of cave architecture of the earlier Pallava style to filter into the Kēraḷa country. It may also be noted that the Narasimha cave-temple<sup>4</sup> at

1. *Trav. Archt. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 33-49.

2. *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 288-89.

3. Koram plates, *S. I. J.* Vol. I, p. 152.

4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 318.

Ānamalai in the Madura District came into existence in 770 A. D. excavated as it was by a minister of the Pandya king, Jaṭila-Parantaka, and that the monolithic cave at Nāmakkal in the Salem District within the old Chera dominions and called the Adiyāndra-Vishṇugriha in a Pallava-Grantha inscription, is believed to have been constructed by an early Adigaimān chief by about the end of the 8th century.<sup>1</sup> Another rock-cut cave nearer home is the one at Tirunandikkarai within the State, whose age has been tentatively fixed<sup>2</sup> as the latter half of the 8th century from the palaeographical indications of the early Vatteluttu record engraved on a pillar therein. From all these premises, the Kaviyūr cave can also be assigned to the second half of the 8th century if not earlier, although a tendency to give it a slightly earlier age is justifiable from its close resemblance to early Pallava work.

## No. 2—Revised Text of the Kaviyūr Inscription of Kali 4052.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11\*] கலியுகம் துடங்கி நாலாயிரத்து அயம்பத்திராமாண்டு க-  
விபூர் ஊரார் அவிர்ரோத்தால் முக்கால்வட்டத்துக் கூடி கொயிலு  
புள்ளிருக்க மங்ஙலத்து நாராயணங் கெயவன் கிடங்குபறாவுள் தில-  
தமங்ஙலத்தொடியும் எட்டிக்கரியில் அன்புதின் கலமுங் கொடுத்தா-  
ன் [1\*] மங்ஙலத்து நாராயணங் கிரிட்டன் கொடுத்த பூமி குமாரக்-  
கொற்றக்கரி நூற்றுக்கலமும் ஈரை இளாகை 'நெட்டொடியில் நாலொ-  
ன்றும் ஈரைக்கு [இளா]த்துக்கு' அவுளரிடைக் கொண்ட ஐம்பதின்  
கலமும் திருக்கவிபூர்த் தெவர்க்கு இரண்டு நந்தாவினக்கும் அகத்து  
பந்திரடிக்கு நாராயிரி திருவயிர்தும் உச்சிக்கு நாயிரி திருவக்கிர  
மிண்டு கலமு மிப்பூமிபா விருவரும்
- 2 அமைச்சார் [1\*] இச்செலவும் இச்செலவினுக்கு அமைச்ச பூமியும் வில-  
க்கப் பெறார் [1\*] விலக்கு முராளர் வெவ்வேற்று வகையால் பெரு-  
மாளுக்கு ஐம்பத்திரு கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவது [1\*] நாடுவா-  
ழுவார்க்கு இருபத்தைங் கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவது [1\*] தா-  
னமும் பரடையும் முரான்(ம்)மைக்கு மிடையிடுங் கெட்டு முழிக்களத்  
தொழுக்கப்படி கச்சம் பிழைச்சாராவது [1\*] விலக்குமவள்க் கனு-  
பந்தம் பறையுமவளும் இத்தண்டமெ படுவது [1\*] ஊரா ரவிர்ரோத-  
த்தால்க் கூடியு மிச் செலவு மற்றொன்றினுக்கு செலுத்திக்கப் பெ-  
றார் [1\*] 'இச்செலவெல்லா மொட்டித் கெயகாலத்து செலுத்தா  
த்தால் முட்டிரட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியர்'<sup>4</sup> [1\*] இப்பூமி எல்லாம் உழவு  
மங்கலத்தவகள் தந்ததில் மூத்தொகிருவரும் சிறைக்கரையில் மூத்த-  
வனுங் கூடி அடுத்து பலம் முக்கால்வட்டத்து கொடுப்-
- 3 பிக்கக் கடவியர் [11\*]

1. *Madras Epigl. Report* for 1906, p. 76.  
2. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, p. 201.  
3. No. 1 of 1087 published in the *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 288.  
4, 5. The portions between inverted commas are engraved separately below the original inscription and had been left out. They are now tentatively inserted at these places.

**No. 3—Revised Text of the Kaviyur Inscription of Kali 4051.<sup>1</sup>**

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [II\*] கவிபுகர் துடங்கி நாலாயிரத் [து\*] அம்பத்தொரா மா-  
ண்டி திருக்கவியூர் பட்டாரக [ர\*] க்கு மகிழஞ்செரித் தெவன் செந்நன்  
திருவிளக்குந் திருவமிருநீ திருவக்கிரமும் திருச்சந்நணமும் திருப்ப-  
கையு மமச்சான் [II\*] விளக்கினுக்கு உரி நெய்யும் இருநாழி அரித்  
திருவமிர்தும் புகைபரமண்ணிற செல்விது [II\*] தெவன் செந்ந  
மைச்ச காராளரற் செலித்திச்ச கொள்ளக்கடவிபர் [II\*]
2. ஊராள செந்நன்கரி திருவக்கிரத்தின்னு குடிசு அ சந்தனத்தின்னு புனக-  
க்கு சிறுபுனயில்தலை சாத்தன் கூறு அமைச்சான் [II\*] மூழிக்களத்து  
கச்சத்தொடொக்கும் |—

**No. 4—Copper-plate record of a Ramnad Setupati: Kollam 945.**

The subjoined Tamil record is engraved on both the sides of a single copper plate kept in the Palace Chellamvagai at Trivandrum. It measures 10" × 5" exclusive of an ornamental projection at the middle of the top of the plate, which is 4" broad and 2.5" high and through the centre of which has been bored the ring-hole of the plate. The writing on the sheet is in the Tamil alphabet of the latter half of the 18th century in which the record is also dated, except for one line of writing in Telugu in the middle of the first side, the sign-manual of the Sētopatis, viz., ஸ்ரீராமநாமஸபாமிஸஹாயம் (*Śrī-Rāmanāthasvāmi-sahāyam*), Telugu having been first introduced into official routine and in the sign-manual by Vijayaraghunātha-Sētopati (1647-72).<sup>1</sup> The inscription contains both the Śaka date 1691 and its Kollam equivalent 945 which corresponded to the year Virōdhi, and the astronomical details furnished therein work out to A. D. 1769, Novr. 5.

The record registers the sale-deed given by Muttu-Rāmalinga Vijayaraghu-nātha Sētopati Karttadēvar to the Travancore king Śrī Padmanābhadāsa Varīchi Balarāma-varma-Kulaśekharapperumā! Mahārāja, in respect of the sale for 4000 *varūhaṇ* of the village of Kakkūr, which was afterwards presented by the latter to the temple of Rāmanāthasvāmin at Rāmeśvaram for conducting a service

1. No. 2 of 1087 published in the *J. A. S.* Vol. I, p. 289.
2. One other inscription in the Śiva temple is engraved on a pillar in the *surru-mandapa* and records that the pillar was the gift of a certain Bhāṭṭatīri of Vellitturutti. It is in Mala-yalam characters and reads as follows:  
  - 1 வைத்தியன்.
  - 2 கணி பிசு-
  - 3 கிரி பணி.
  - 4 வைத்தியன்
  - 5 இன்ன ஹ [II\*].
3. *Sendamiz*, Vol. VI, page 45.

(*kaṭṭalai*) to the god in his name. While this deed was drawn up, the Sēṭupati is stated to have been present in (the place called) *Viraiyādaṇḍan* to the east of *Kāttar* alias *Kulōttuṅgaśōlanallār*, a village in *Togavūr-kūṭṭam*. *Kulōttuṅgaśōlanallār* and *Viraiyādaṇḍan* were two of the many places which the *Ramnād* chiefs used as their headquarters. Of these the latter is in the *Rājasiṅgamaṅgalaśekharam* in *Sētu-nāḍu*.<sup>1</sup>

We learn<sup>2</sup> that on the death of *Śella-Tēvar* alias *Vijayaraghunātha-Sēṭupati* in 1760 A. D. his nephew *Muttu-Rāmaliṅga Vijayaraghunātha-Sēṭupati*, the infant son of *Muttutiruvāy-Nāchchiyār*, who had been perhaps adopted<sup>3</sup> by his uncle was placed on the throne under the regency of his mother helped by the able *Daḷavāy Dāmōḍaram Pillai*.<sup>4</sup> The prince must have been only about ten years of age at the time of this epigraph. Another copper-plate record of his, dated in Śaka 1693, has been registered as No. 7 of the *Madras Epigraphical* collection for 1910-11, where as here, he has been decorated with a number of high-sounding and fanciful titles, many of which appear to have been copied from the long lists of similar attributes prefacing the later *Vijayanagara* grants. Some of these, however, such as *Tēvainagarādhīpaṇ* (the lord of *Tēvai-nagara*) *Ravikulāśekharaṇ* (the crest-jewel of the Solar race), *Hanumatēṭṭaṇ* and *Garudakēṭṭaṇ* (the bearer of the *Hanumān* and *Garuḍa* flags) were also borne by his predecessors. This Sēṭupati has been called *Muttu-Rāmaliṅga Vijayaraghunātha-Sēṭupati Kāttadēvar* in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* noticed above, but the last component of this title must correctly be *Karttālēvar* instead of *Kāttadēvar*. The Sēṭupatis held the subordinate position of vassals of the *Madura Nāyakas* who were themselves the *Governors* of the southern provinces of the *Vijayanagara* Empire, such as it was at that time. The *Nāyakas* did not assume any independent royal titles, but were content with being called '*Karttākkal*' (Skt. *kartā*=an agent or representative), which Dr. Caldwell has rendered into the English equivalent of 'High Commissioner'. The Sēṭupatis, who were appointed by these *Nāyakas* as *Pālaiyakkārār* on military tenure for the collection of revenue and the maintenance of peace and order in the neighbouring disaffected regions, must have also styled themselves as '*Karttākkal*'. *Dēva* is also the hereditary title of the *Maravas*.

In his *Madura Manual*, Nelson has abstracted from *Ponnusvami-Tēvar's Memorandum* some interesting data which explain, with a show of plausibility, the origin of some of these *birudas* and their significance. The appointment of *Toṇḍiyintuṇar-kāvalaṇ* (the warden of the *Toṇḍi*<sup>5</sup> harbour) appears to have been conferred on *Ativīra Raghunātha-Sēṭupati* for his help against the *Chōḷas*, who had invaded the *Pāṇḍya* country; while the privileges of raising the *Hanumān* and the *Garuḍa*-banner seem to have been conceded by the *Vijayanagara* kings for

1. *Śeṇḍamīḷ*, Vol. II, p. 34.

2. *Sewell's List of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 231.

3. *Vide* the title '*Raghunātha-Sēṭupati-ramśōḷḷakāraṇa*' in line 30 of the text.

4. The hero of the Tamil poem called the '*Vēḷvikkova*'.

5. *Toṇḍi* is a harbour to the east of *Madura* and to the north of *Ramnād* and it was famous in ancient days for its seaborne trade. It is different from its namesake on the West Coast called the *Kuṭṭuvap-toṇḍi* (*Kaḍalundī*).

distinguished field service against their Muhammadan foes. The Sētopatis won also the title of '*Chōlamanḍala-pratishṭhāpanāchārya*' by driving out the Telugu enemies of the Chōlas in the capacity of Pāṇḍya vassals; while a later scion of that family assumed the title '*kaṇḍanāḍu-koṇḍu-koṇḍanāḍu-koḍādāṇ*' (he who conquers countries seen and never lets go the conquered territories) in commemoration of his decisive victory over the Chōlas, whom he had pursued into their own dominions annexing Paṭṭukkōṭṭai and Arantāṅgi. This latter title was also borne by the kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty together with many others, among which the sporting epithet '*gajavēṭṭai-kandaruliya*' (who witnessed the elephant-hunt) was a special *biruda* affected by Dēvarāya II. Muttu-Krishnappa-Nāyaka of Madura (1602-09), who is credited with the revival of the dynasty of the Ramnad Sētopatis and with the installation of Śaḍayaka-Tēvar on that throne in 1604 A. D., is stated to have given him a considerable slice of land comprising the present districts of Ramnad and Śivagaṅga, with the express obligation that he should keep in check the turbulent Marava chiefs who harassed and blackmailed the pilgrims journeying to the holy island of Rāmēśvaram; and from that time at least, if not earlier from the days of Rāma himself who is believed by the Ramnad Chiefs to have first appointed them as Sētopatis (the guardians of Sētu), they have assumed the titles '*Sētumālarakṣā-dhurandhara*' and '*Rāmanāthasvāmikārya-dhurandhara*'. The Rāmēśvaram temple itself contains the effigies of many of the members of this dynasty. The epithets '*Pāṇḍimanḍala-sthāpanāchārya*' (establisher of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom) and '*tālikku-vēli*' (the fence round i.e., protector of the Queen's marriage-badge) were bestowed on Tirumalai Raghunātha-Sētopati (1647-72) by the great Tirumalai-Nāyaka supplemented by the gift of the three large villages of Tiruppūvaṇam, Tiruchchuli and Paḷlimāḍam, in gratitude for the prompt and powerful aid that this chief rendered him in A. D. 1659 in routing the Mysore army in its notorious 'hunt for noses' and in saving Madura from utter ruin at the hands of her vengeful foe. He was also called '*Daḷasiṅgam*' and is the hero of the *Daḷasiṅgamālai* of Aḷagiya-chirrambala-Kavirāyar of Mithilaip-paṭṭi. Another Raghunātha-Sētopati, better known by the more popular sobriquet of Kīḷavaṇ-Sētopati, who was mainly instrumental in killing the Muhammadan adventurer Rustum-Khan, was awarded the title of '*pararājakēsari*' or '*pakaimannarīṅgam*' by Chokkanātha-Nāyaka, while similar help against the Muhammadan invaders of Madura earned for the Ramnad chiefs the title of '*tulukkardala-vibhāṇ*' and '*tulukkarmōham-tavirttāṇ*'. Many of the other remaining embellishments are more poetic than significant, more the flattering compliments of court poets than meaningful titles deservedly earned. The conflict in which this utta-Rāmalinga-Sētopati was engaged with the combined forces of the Nawab of the Karnatic and the East India Company in 1773, his defeat and incarceration for seven years in Trichinopoly and his subsequent re-installation in 1780 A. D. are facts of later history with which our record has no connection. It may however be noted that it was this Sētopati who finished in A. D. 1769 the third *prākāra* of the Rāmēśvaram temple which was begun by Muttu-Raghunātha in A. D. 1740.

1. மணக்கோடி. காத்தி மதுரைப் காத்தி வளருந்தெய்வத்  
தனக்கோடி. காத்திவ னோரு நா த தளவிக்மே.—*Daḷasiṅgamālai* (*Sendamēl*, Vol. IV, p. 49).





The first attribute namely Padmanābhadhāsa, 'the servant of lord Padmanābha', assumed by the sovereign in this inscription is in conformity with what is recorded of him in his book<sup>1</sup> referred to above, viz., that in the presence and with the implied consent of his brother Ravivarman and nephew, his namesake, he gave away his kingdom to god Padmanābha, while he contented himself to rule it in His name and as His servant. Although the king has called himself as Bālarāma-varman except in one instance<sup>2</sup> and has named his work as *Bālarāma-bharatam*, it is evident that he refers by the expression 'भागिनेयः स्वनामा' to his nephew Rāma-varman (Aśvati-Tirunāl) and not to his grand-nephew Bālarāma-varman II (Aviṭ-tam-Tirunāl) for the reason, that the latter who was born in Kollam 957 (1782) stepped into the *yuvārāja's* shoes only after the death of the elder claimant Aśvati-Tirunāl in Kollam 963, and that by this time Ravivarman, the king's younger brother (evidently the Makayiram-Tirunāl of the Genealogical Table), who was present at the dedication ceremony had died in Kollam 961.<sup>3</sup> This work must have been composed by the king in the early years of his reign between 934 and 940 when he was still known by the more familiar name of Bālarāma-varman, although he may have discarded the prefix 'Bāla' after his coronation, *tulābhāra* and *hiranyayajña* ceremonies which he has referred to in his work<sup>4</sup> and which are known to have been celebrated during the regime of the minister Mārttāṇḍa Pillai Daḷavāy (Kollam 934-39).<sup>5</sup>

It may be noted that an *ślai* document<sup>6</sup> in the Travancore Vernacular Records Office distinctly states that the dedication of the Travancore State to god Padmanābha was made in Kollam 925 in the reign of Vira-Bālamārttāṇḍavarman himself; and as there is nothing improbable in it, the statement of the *Bālarāma-bharatam* which claims the achievement for its author Bālarāma-varman has to be considered in the light of a confirmatory repetition of the original dedication by Bālamārttāṇḍavarman, which ceremonial the dutiful nephew went through perhaps at the time of his coronation within the first four or five years of his reign, in the company of the two princes of his family who were living at the time, namely his brother Ravivarman (Makayiram-Tirunāl) and nephew Rāma-varman (Aśvati-Tirunāl).

This king is reported to have undertaken a pilgrimage to the holy island of Rāmeśvaram in his sixtieth year in Kollam 959<sup>7</sup> and that in addition to the fulfilment of this religious visit incumbent on every devout Hindu, he also satisfied

1. तदनुजरविर्मो भागिनेयः स्वनामा  
स्वयमपि स तु वक्षिष्मापतिश्चैकभावः ।  
सकलभुवनभारं पद्मनाभाय दत्त्वा  
मनुषतिकुलभूये स्वामिभृत्यस्वभावः ॥ — *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 100.
2. श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरवक्षिभूयो  
विद्वन्प्रियो निखिलसूरिगणेश्य आर्यः । — *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 107.
3. *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 333 and 385.
4. श्रीपद्मनाभपुरतस्स हिरण्यगर्भ-  
दानं तुलापुरुषदानमजस्रदीक्षः । — *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 108.
5. *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 370.
6. *Vide infra*.
7. *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 385.



his thirst for knowledge about the administration of the neighbouring dominions, which helped him much in effecting considerable improvement in the material prosperity of his own subjects. The donation registered in the present record is however 14 years earlier than the date of the royal tour of pilgrimage mentioned above.

In the *Āryavana-māhātmyam* which is a Sanskrit work composed in honor of god Śāsta at Āryankāvu, the halfway halt of the earlier days in the heart of the Ghat jungles on the pass connecting Travancore with the plains of Tinnevely and now a station on the Quilon-Shencotta railway, this king is stated to have constructed good roads for the pilgrims resorting to that famous temple, to have policed the ill-reputed jungles which harboured many lawless brigands and wild animals and to have generally attended with parental care to the welfare of his subjects. Although the *purāṇa* under reference is, as usual with religious literature of this type, written in a mythical style as having been narrated by sage Agastya to his wife Lōpāmudrā and professes to be an excerpt from the *Skānda-purāṇa*; there are some indications to show that it may have been composed during the reign of the king himself, if not later. A few relevant verses are extracted below,<sup>1</sup> and it is noteworthy that this work also indirectly refers to the dedication of the dominions to god Padmanābha.

The language of the inscription is Tamil which is free from errors of composition, but mistakes in spelling and the introduction of Grantha letters in purely Tamil words and *vice versa* are largely noticeable. Sanskrit words have also suffered from wrong orthography in many instances and the corrected equivalents of some of them have been given in the foot-notes, where necessary.

The proper names occurring in the record are all mentioned among the boundaries of the village of Kākkūr and they have to be looked for in Ramnad

1. अधुना श्रूयते तत्र महारण्येऽपि दुर्गमे ।  
 रामेण पृथ्वीपतिना मार्गश्च सुगमः कृतः ॥  
 मण्टपा विविधास्तीरे निर्भरस्य कृतास्तथा ।  
 क्षेत्रं च निर्मितं दिव्यं हरहयोर्महात्मनोः ॥  
 अरण्यपत्तनप्रामसहितञ्च तदद्भुतम् ।  
 अनेकजनपंकीर्णं सर्वलोकोपकारकम् ॥

Although king Rama mentioned above is the hero of the *Rāmāyana* to suit the puranic background of the *māhātmyam*, the real reference seems to be to his namesake Rāmaparman (A. D. 1758—98) about whom the following verses are noted—

- किञ्चान्यत्तस्य साहाय्यं शृणुष्व श्राव्यमद्भुतम् ।  
 श्रीपद्मनाभदासस्य चैरुपस्य धीमतः ॥  
 एतद्राज्यं समस्तञ्च पद्मनाभायमेव तु ।  
 योगनिद्रेच्छुना तेन दत्तं राज्ञे पुरा प्रिये ॥  
 तस्य शास्तुर्वैलेनैव केरळेशोऽत्र भूभुवः ।

व्याघ्रादि भीतिं सर्वेषां मनुष्याणामिराकरोत् ॥ — These stray verses are from the chapter called *Ramachērasamāgamah*.

district. They are *Taṭātakai-nāḍu* (perhaps named after goddess *Mīnākshī*, *Taṭātakai-pirāṭṭiyār*), the sub-division in which *Kākkūr* was situated, *Gadaiyaṅ-kaṇmāy*, *Karumaḷa-kaṇmāy*, *Karuṣāl-kuḷam*, *Pūnda-kuḷam*, among the names of the tanks and *Kimāṇakuruchchi* and *Mudukulattūr* among the names of places. *Tokuvūr-kūṟam*<sup>1</sup> is one of the seven sub-divisions into which the *Kāna-nāḍu*, which extended as far as *Tonḍi* and *Kāḷaiyārkōyil*, was split up from olden days, while *Kāna-nāḍu* was again a district of *Paṇṇi-nāḍu*, the tract of land lying between the *Pāṇḍya* and *Chōḷu* kingdoms.

**Text.<sup>2</sup>**

*First-side.*

- 1 உவ்வலி ஸ்ரீ [1\*] ஸாய்னொஹத ஸகாஷ்ட[2\*] துகாக்கிக உதன்மெற் செ-  
ல்லாதின்ற  
2 கொழும் காசரிந் ஆண்டு விரோதமாவவ்வாழ் சுற்பதி 18 உலக உ  
3 லாநுவாவாழ் மத்திராடம(2)கூத்திராழ் வலிவடிவகூத்து வலியுய்ஞ  
4 குலந்-  
5 மமபாகமு மரஜிவாக்கரணமும் பெற்ற ஸாஸ்திரத்தில் ஸ்ரீமஹாணுஷெ-  
6 ஸுரநு செவ்வென்கரையிவநு ஹெதுவிலுரகூயாஸநு ஆரியராயிரக-  
7 ளவிபாடன் பாணைக்குத்தப்பிவராயிரகணுன் கணுநாடும் கொண்டு கெ-  
8 ண்டகாடு கொடிந்தான் பாண்டிமண்டலவ்வாவதாஅயதிராடி சொழம-  
9 ணுயுபுதிவாவதாஅயதிராடி தொணுணுலசணுயசணுநு இளமுங்கொங்-  
10 குபாழ்ப்பாணாடிஸமும் எம்மண்டலமு[3\*] மஹலெட்டை கொண்டரு-  
11 விய ராஜாயிராஜநு ராஜவ(2)ரஜெஸுரநு ராஜகாநாணு ராஜமடிந்  
12 ரநு ராஜமுகுதிககநு இரவிசுருமெவரநு சொரிமுத்துவன்னியநு அந்-  
தம்-  
13 சிறகண்டன்\* சாடிக்காறர்கண்டநு ஸ்ரீதிஜெரவியஉமிண்டன் டுஷுரிஸ்  
14 டுஷுநு  
15 டுஷுர்கொட்டமடக்கி இளஞ்சிங்கந் தளஞ்சிங்கம் பனகமன்னர்சிக்க  
16 மாத்துப்-  
17 பாச்சி கடலிப்பாச்சி மதப்புவியடைக்கலங்காத்தான் தாலிக்குவெலி 9சத்-

- 1 பெற்றியாழ்ந்திற்ற திருமீழைக்கூற்ற மிகுந்த முத்தூர்க்கூற்றம்  
பத்தியான அரும்பூர்க்கூற்றம் பாரமான திருக்காண்க்கூற்றம்  
முத்தமிழோர் தொகுபூர்க்கூற்றம் முதன்மைபான கொடுமுதூர்க்கூற்றம்  
எத்திலையான இஃபாங்கூட்கூற்றம்— *Sendamizai*, Vol. XIII, p. 163.
2. Registered as No. 1 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1998 M. C.
- 3 The name of the *karaya* (astrological division of the day) is *Gara* (elephant) *karaya*.
4. Lord தெவையந்நராயிவந்ந, the lord of Tēvai-nagarai i. e., Ramanāthapuram (according to the Dictionaries); but Tēvai has been correctly identified with Rāmēśvaram itself in a Tamil poem called the 'Tēvai-nāṭi' of Palapattinai-Sōkkuvāṭṭappulavar, verses 226 and 248.
5. Read எம்மண்டலமும் செண்ணி மடிவெட்டை என்டருளிய.
6. Read ராஜகூறுதிருச்சு.
- 7 வணங்காத தெவ்வைய பொருமால் செகரிமுத்து வண்ணியன் பென்  
னணங்கரு மார்பன் சகுந்தன்— (*Oruturai-kkurai*, verse 91).
8. உட்கோய்மதகவிநன்னுனர்தம்பரகண்டன் முத்து  
வட்கோய்தனத்தியர் வேள் சகுந்தன்— *ibid*, v. 120.
9. Read அந்நாயிவதி.





Scale: One-half.



- 61 கயும் [1\*] வடித்தாது, முனாடி பொன்னி வரத்தாது பொருதம் வரத்தாது  
உமாபெருவ  
62 ஸ்தோத்ரம் உலகென உலகவாருதயொழிதெழி உலகெனயொருவா  
ருதம்  
63 உலகவாருதயொழிதெழி உலகவாருதயொழிதெழி உலகவாருதயொழிதெழி  
ருதம்  
64 உலகவாருதயொழிதெழி உலகவாருதயொழிதெழி உலகவாருதயொழிதெழி  
ருதம்  
65 உலகவாருதயொழிதெழி உலகவாருதயொழிதெழி உலகவாருதயொழிதெழி  
ருதம்

**Translation.**

Hail! Prosperity! On the 23rd (day) of Arpaśi in the year Virōdhi corresponding to (the) Kollam (year) 945 (which was) current after the Śaka year 1691 had expired, and which was a Sunday, the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight with nakṣatra I'ttirāḍam, śūlanāma-yōgam and garaja-karapam, śrī-Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran, the lord of the city of Tēvai, the guardian of the Sētu, the destroyer of the armies of enemy kings (or Āryas), the punisher of those kings who transgress his words, he who seizes the countries seen but never lets go the captured territories, the establisher of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, the establisher of the Chōḷa dominions, the all-powerful in the Tondai-maṇḍalam, the (conqueror) of Ilam, Koṅga, Yaḷppāman and all (other) kingdoms, (he) who instituted the elephant hunt, the chief of kings, the supreme lord of kings, the sun among kings, the noblest among kings, the ornament of the race of kings, the crest-jewel of the solar race, the *vanniya* of abundant pearls,..... the destroyer of tale-bearers, the punisher of rebels of *svāmi* (his Pāṇḍya master), the wicked among wicked men, the curber of the mischief of wicked men, the lion-cub,<sup>6</sup> the lion of the army, the lion to enemy kings, he who pushed (his army) on rivers and on the sea, he who gave asylum to the ferocious tiger, the protector of the (Queen's) marriage-badge, the punisher of parasolled kings, the stopper of the swagger of the *vanniyas*, the warden of the Tondī-harbour, a Rāvaṇa in horsemanship, the monkey-bannered, the Garuḍa-bannered, the lion-bannered, a Karna in charity, a Dharma in patience (forgiveness), a Bhīma in wrestling, a Vijaya<sup>7</sup> (Arjuna) in archery, a Nakula in horse-craft, an Agastya in erudition, a Hariśchandra in truth-fidness, the possessor of a heroic panegyric<sup>8</sup> and a brace of fly-whisks, an adept in the arts of pleasant talk, music and composition, he of the lovely face about whom restless maidens with vermilion-marked foreheads desire to compose (the work

1. Read வித்தாதிமுனா. 2. Read பொதுவெழு.
3. Read பொதுவெழு. 4. Read பொதுவெழு.
5. Read பொதுவெழு.
6. வெகுண்டெழுந்த நல்லிங்கேசரி தேவமயசேன் ரகுநாதன்—*Oruttukkirai*, v. 31.
7. அடைக்கலங்காத்தான் செஞ்சிங்கேசரிசபன் ரகுநாதன்—*ibid.*, v. 92.
8. *Viravaramalaiyir* was also the title of the Pandya king Ativitarāma of A. D. 1562 (*Troc. Archéol. Series*, Vol. 1, p. 274).

called)<sup>1</sup> *maḍal*, the lover of the goddess of victory, the Rāma to the Rāvasas of (enemy) kings, a *vēlaikkāraṇ*<sup>2</sup> to devotees, he on whose two feet shine the heroic anklet and the *sēmattalai*, the chastiser of the wicked and the protector of the righteous, the breaker of the army of Muhammadans and the destroyer of their pride, the breaker of the army of Oddiyar and the destroyer of their pride, the breaker of the armies of enemies, he whose mind is not perturbed even if mountains (themselves) are disturbed, the moon to feeding-houses, the Dēvēndra of the earth, the upholder of Śiva's worship, the founder of many temples, the owner of the Chōḷa dominions, the possessor of a red-ochre coloured parasol, *viruḍu*, and a white fly-whisk, the abode of the goddess of all prosperity, the supervisor of the affairs of god Rāmanātha, the upholder of the race of Himayagabhaṇyāji Raghunātha-Sēṭupati Karttadēvaravarga], who had performed the sixteen great gifts beginning with the Tulāpurnasudāna, the crest-jewel of the Solar race and he that was seated resplendent in (the place called) Viruṇyādagaṇḍan in the eastern portion of Kākkūr alias Kulōttuṇṇasōḷa-nallur (a village) in Tōgavār-kāṇṇam—Muttu-Rāmalīṅga Vijayaraghunātha-Sēṭupati Karttadēvaravarga]—gave in writing to Śrīpadmanābhudāsa Vañchi<sup>3</sup> Bākurāma-varma-Kulaśēkharaṇṇamāl Muhārāja of the *ādhiṇam* of Tiruppāppūr-svārūpam the (following) sale-deed for the sale of (the village of) Kākkūr for conducting a service (*kaṭṭalai*) to god śrī-Rāmanāthasvāmin at Rāmēśvaram.

As 4000 *varāhaṇ*, (in words) four thousand *varāhaṇ*, have been received in cash as the price of Kākkūr, the boundaries of Kākkūr in Taṭātakai-nāḍu are:—

the eastern boundry (is) to the west of the Karumalakkāl, the bund of Gadaiyan-kaṇṇmāy, and the corner bund of Karumāla-kaṇṇmāy;

the southern boundary (is) to the north of the sluices of Kumārakkurich-chi-kaṇṇmāy, Kurnsalkuḷa-kaṇṇmāy, Pattalai-kaṇṇmāy and Pagaiyaṇ-kaṇṇmāy;

the western boundary (is) to the east of the dry lands near Kāttāṇ-āṇḍal-kuḷam, the boundary stone of Mudukuḷattūr, and the boundary land of Papaiya-ḍi-yēṇḍal; and

the northern boundary (is) to the south of the boundary of Puḷiyaṅguḍi and its set-up stone, the boundary of Pāḍuvān-āṇḍal, the boundary of Pūṇḍak-kuḷam and its set-up stone and the Karumalakkāl.

Kākkūr (situated) within these four boundaries shall be enjoyed, together with its wet and dry lands, its perquisites in cash, its eight privileges such as treasure-troves, deposits, water, timber, stones, ore, *akshinī* and *āgāmi*, the accomplished and the accomplishable, which were all made eligible to (be disposed of in) gifts, barter, or sale, by Śrīpadmanābhudāsa Vañchi<sup>3</sup> Bākurāma-varma-Kulaśēkharaṇṇamāl Muhārāja for the conduct of the service in Rāmēśvaram, as long as the moon and sun (exist) and in his line of succession.

1. A variety of composition, *vide*.

—மண்ணு

விடவண்ணு க்கண்ணு ச்ஞுவெய்யன்மேலிட்ட

மடல்வண்ணம் பாடும் பொழுதென்று — Tirukkaiḷa vāṇāṇḍa.

Pannirupattipal Poṭṭuwa Maḍal in verses 244 to 247; Tirumāṅgai-Āḷvār is the author of sūdhar compositions called the *Peripattirumala* and the *Siriyaticcumaḷa*.

*Maḍalaṇḍal* is the growing act of dogged audacity which a disappointed lover indulges in to evoke compassion from the other party viz., that of riding on a horse made of pulmyra prickles!

2. On *Vēḷuikkāraṇ* and their significance, *vide*.

3. See page 10 above regarding the king's name which may be taken as Vañchipāla Rāma-varma-Kulaśekhara.

The taxes leviable from this village shall be (paid by tenants as) *manṇirai*, and labour and other items shall be supplied according to the requirements of the Rāmanāthasvāmi-service.

Thus did we prepare and give the sale-deed.

Those that protect this charity shall obtain the merit of having set up a crore of brahmins and a crore of Śiva-liṅgas, and of having performed many crores of Gōḍānas. Those that think evil to this charity shall incur the sin of having killed a crore of brahmins and a crore of cows in Kāśi (Benares) and Śatru (Rāmacāvaran).

The protection of another's charity is twofold more meritorious than one's own charity; by damaging another's charity, one's own gifts become fruitless. Between (the two things) gift and its protection, the latter is more felicitous than the former; by gift one attains Svarga whereas by fostering (another's charity) one reaches the abode of Achyuta (i. e., Vaikunṭham).

In this manner was this copper-plate engraved in the writing of Śaṭṭaiyappa, the son of Śaṭṭaiyappa-Nālaṅgarāyan of Madurai.

#### No. 5—Ramavarmayasohhūshanam and Vasulakshmikalyanam.

In the Trivandrum Palace Library there is a manuscript entitled the *Rāmavarma-yasohhūshanam*, which on examination, proved to be an exact reproduction of the *Pratīparudrīya* with regard to the rules, definitions and their explanatory notes, classified under the same nine chapters, Nāyaka, Kāvya, Nāṭika, Rasa, Dōṣha, Guṇa, Śabdālankāra, Arthālankāra and Mīśrālankāra *prakāraṇas*, but with the illustrative verses composed, agreeably to its title, in praise of the Travancore king Rāmavarma-Kuṣṭhākara Vañchipāla.<sup>1</sup> The author of this work is said to be a certain Sadāśiva-maklin,<sup>2</sup> son of Chokkanāthadhvarin;<sup>3</sup> but further details

1. Similar works composed by other poets in praise of their respective patrons are *Nāṭjarajayōga-bhāṣanam* of Narasiṅhakavi, *Alakāra-matjaṣu*, and *Saṭṭavairin-bhava-theṭṭakaram* in Sanskrit and *Maṇḍa-lankāram* of Tirukkuralaipperumāl-Kuṇṭayar in praise of Nannāḷvar.

2. चोक्कनाथाध्वरिमुत्सर्वविद्याविशारदः ।

सदाशिवमखी मोऽयं प्रबन्धा भायुक्तामणीः ॥

सयं सदाशिवकृतिर्मधुरोक्तिवन्धा सालङ्कृतिस्तरसभावनिरुणोक्ता ।

कान्तं समिच्छति वधूरिव वयिबा(वा)लश्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसर्वभौमम् ॥

3. We know of three different persons bearing the name of Chokkanātha at the end of the 17th century, viz.,

(i) the author of *Sāntikāpariṇayam* who was the son of Tippādhvarin mal who mentions a certain Basavakshittodra in his drama.

(ii) the author of the commentary of *Yudhishthirarajayam* of Vasudēva, which is in manuscript in the Palace Library and in which is mentioned that he was the son of Sularāma-Bhāṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and a native of Śattantur; and

(iii) the father-in-law of Rāmabhadra-Dikshita (1693).

Of these No. i refers to Nilakantha-Maklin and was the author of *कान्तिमतीपरिणयम्* composed at the instance of Shājirāja and belongs therefore to the beginning of the 18th century. It may also be noted that there was a Basavappa-Nayaka of Ikkeri (1697-1714) and a chief



about his pedigree are not available here except that in a drama of his named *Lakshmīkalyāṇam*<sup>1</sup> his *gōtra* is known to be Bhāradvāja and mother's name to be Mīnākshī. Unlike the *Pratāparudrīya* which has furnished many interesting bits of historical information about its Kākatiya hero that have since been verified by epigraphical researches, the 'Adornment of the glory of Rāmavarman' is a composition of purely literary merit; for the author evidently an East-Coast brahman, whose knowledge of or interest in the history of Travancore in those troublous times could never have been great, has failed to give an historical setting to his penegyric verses, but has only revelled in the usual stereotyped but commendable descriptions, similitudes and imagery. If this should be so in the case of an author who flourished only a century and a half ago, there is nothing to wonder at in the paucity of historical material in the compositions of many of our earlier Sanskrit poets, with but a few honourable exceptions; and the criticism that the average Indian author is lacking in the historical instinct is hardly undeserved.

The few points worthy of attention in this work may now be noted. That the hero of the work is none other than the nephew of Mārttāṇḍavarman, the Great—the illustrious Rāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara-Vaṇchipāla of the Solar race, who ascended the throne in Kollam 933 (A. D. 1758) and had a long eventful reign of 40 years till Kollam 973 (A. D. 1798), is understood from a verse<sup>2</sup> which records

named Basavarājendra (c. 1700 A. D.) either of whom may have been the patron mentioned by the author. (*Q. J. M. S. Vol. X. p. 257*); but we do not know if he was of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra to identify him with Sadaśiva's father.

No. ii is of that *gōtra* and says in his commentary that he completed it in the cyclic year Vikrama, month Nalāya (Śrāvaṇa), Revatī, Monday, 60. triyāya, and as these details are correct for both the Kollam year 875 and 936 in all particulars except the weekday it may be presumed that he was Sadaśiva's father. Sadaśiva must have composed his *Yasobhushanam* in the early part of his patron's reign.

1 अस्ति खलु भारद्वाजकुलकलशजलविद्धिमकरस्य सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रस्य चोक्तनाथयज्वनः तनूजस्य मीनाक्षिगर्भ-  
शक्तिमुक्तामणेः सदाशिवयज्वनः कृतः अभिनवं लक्ष्मीकल्याणं नाम नाटकम् ।

2. सतां मार्गे स्थित्वा सकलशुभमाधाय जगतां

विषक्षक्षोणीभृत्तिमिरहरतेजस्विनि विधेः ।

गतेऽस्तं मार्गच्छे विधुरिव जनानन्दजनकः

कलासिन्धुराजाकुदयमधिष्ठो विजयते ॥

A few other verses referring to the king are:

(a) तत्तादगद्भुतचरित्रपावीत्रितामु

प्राप्तां कृतिष्वपि सतीषु मितपचोक्तिः ।

वाञ्छापलात्सुगुणसागरवञ्चिवा(पा)ल-

श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरभूपमीडे ॥

(b) लक्ष्मी वृणोतु यदपाङ्गविलासपात्रं

यच्छस्तलक्ष्यकुलमाश्रितोऽप्सरामिः ।

श्रीपद्मनाभशरणागतवञ्चिवा(पा)ल-

श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरराट सजीयात् ॥

with a *double entendre*, that after Mārtāṇḍa (the king: the sun) had set, Rājā (king Rāma-varman: the moon) ascended the Udayagiri (Udayagiri hill near Padmanābhapuram: the eastern hill). One item of new information furnished by this book is that Rāma-varman was the son of a queen called Pārvatī;<sup>1</sup> and it follows therefore that the princess of the Kolattunāḍ family who was adopted by Unnikēra-varman in Kollam 893<sup>2</sup> (A. D. 1718) had this name or got it on adoption, Lakṣmī and Pārvatī being alternately the names borne by the Rānis of Travancore. Rāma-varman may have had more than two brothers for they are referred to in the plural number as *saṅgarbhyaḥ*<sup>3</sup> and are cited as types of *Dhīralalit* heroes spending away their time in their mansions in amorous dalliance; but we know of only one Ravi-varman,<sup>4</sup> who was present at the time of Rāma-varman's dedication of the State to god Padmanābha. The munificence<sup>5</sup> and charitable disposition,

(८) सन्तु प्रजा विहितधर्मपरास्समृद्धाः

आचन्द्रतारमवनी जयतु क्षितिन्द्रः ।

श्रीपद्मनाभशरणागतवञ्चिवा(पा)ल-

श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौमः ॥

1. (a) पार्वत्यास्सुकृतोदयेनजगती क्षेमाय सद्बुद्धये  
दुष्टानामह शिक्षणाय सपुनः स्कन्दस्सुरैः प्रार्थितः ।  
भूत्वा वञ्चिचराधिवः प्रथितया शक्त्या रिपून् शिक्षयन्  
सुव्रह्मण्यपदं व्यनक्ति भुवने श्रीरामवर्मनृपः ॥
- (b) पार्वतीनन्दनस्सौम्यं वञ्चिन्द्रः स्कन्द एव यत् ।  
शक्त्या विनिहितामित्रः सुव्रह्मण्यो विराजते ॥
- (c) योयं सुक्तामणिर्जातः पार्वतीगर्भश्रुक्तिः ।  
सद्बुद्धो गुणवान् स्वच्छः स्निग्धस्सौम्यं विराजते ॥

2. Trav. State Manual, Vol. I, page 324

3. सौधाम्रोदितरत्नदीपकलिकाव्याजर्कविम्बोदय-  
व्याक्षिप्तेन्द्रभयप्रदानचतुरस्वीयास्यचन्द्रोदयः ।  
गायद्भिर्निजयौवतैः प्रतिनिशं सक्तास्सगर्भ्यान्तृपा  
बक्षिषोऽपिपतेर्निरन्तरयशस्संप्रार्थयन्ते मुदा ॥

4. तदनुज रविवर्मो भागिनेयस्त्वनामा  
स्वयमपि स तु वञ्चिष्मापतिश्चैकभारः ।  
सकलभुवनभारं पद्मनाभाय दत्त्वा

मनुपातिकुलभूपे स्वाभिमुख्यस्वभावाः ॥—*Balarāmaharitam* (T. A. S. IV, 110).

5. विद्वद्भजानपि निरङ्कुशवर्तिनस्त्वै-  
रूढध्वागुणैः कनकशृङ्खलिकानुवन्धान् ।  
कृत्वावासि प्रतिपदं ननु वञ्चिवा(पा)ल-  
श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौमः ॥

pro prowess,<sup>1</sup> literary accomplishments<sup>2</sup> and other incomparable<sup>3</sup> qualities of this sovereign have the contemporary testimony of the author in some of the verses occurring in the work and these attributes go to justify the names of *Dharma-rāja* by which he was lovingly remembered by his subjects and to confirm the ideal picture drawn of him in the pages of the *Travancore State Manual*<sup>4</sup> and in the *Archaeological Series*, Vol. IV. It is a pity that no reference has however been made in the work to any of the stirring political events of those times, as probably it was composed early in the king's reign.

The plot of the model drama called the *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam* inserted in the *Nāṭaka-prakaraṇa* or the third chapter of the book is as follows:—

The king of distant Sindhu had a daughter named Vasulakshmī and had set his heart on marrying her to the king of Travancore, Rāmaparma-Kulaśēkhara, whose accomplishments were much noised abroad. But the queen who had another bridegroom in view in the person of her nephew, the prince of Simhala, started her daughter on a voyage ostensibly with the intention of visiting a famous temple while the proposed destination was in reality Ceylon. Providence, however, upset

1. त्रैलोक्यप्रथमानभास्करकुलक्षीराधिपराका शशी ।  
प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालमौलिमणिभिर्नाराजिताङ्घ्रिर्मुहुः ।  
दिक्कान्ताकुचकुम्भचन्दनरसोन्मीलयशोमण्डलः  
राज्यश्रीसमलंकृतो विजयते श्रीरामवर्मा नृपः ॥
2. यदच्छासन्नर्पिस्समधिगतषट्पत्तन्त्राविभवे-  
श्वमत्कुर्वन् धीरान् सदसि रसभावप्रकटनैः ।  
कवीन्धिन्वन् गानकमविवरणादगायकवरान्  
परिष्कुर्वन्वक्षिक्षितिपालिकोऽयं विजयते ॥
3. स एव देवो भुवनेज्जनाभः स एव देशस्तदुपाहितार्थिः ।  
सानन्दपुर्येव पुरी स वक्षिक्षितिश एव क्षितिपालको हि ॥
4. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 407 et. seq.

In this connection the tribute of praise tendered to the king by his nephew Rāmaparma (Aśvati-thrimal) in his *Rukminī-pariṇayam* is worth noting.

अस्ति निखिलखलहृदयनिचङ्कन्यमानशोकशल्यस्य शल्यस्येव धर्मजातवदचेतसः प्रचेतस इव पार्श्वपरिभ्राज-  
मानबाहिनीसहस्रस्य सहस्रदीधितिरीवोन्मुखपद्माकरगृहीतपादपल्लवस्य वैनतेयस्येव मृगमहितापदानवतः का-  
निकेयस्येवाप्रतिहतशक्तेराखण्डलस्येव प्रकाटितशतकोटिदानविस्मयस्य विशददृष्टभुजविटपिविहरमाणविश्वभरा-  
शारीकस्य हरिचरणपरिचरणधुरीणविषणस्य सकलपरिपन्थिमण्डलाख्यविश्रान्तचापकर्मणोऽपि सकलदे-  
गन्तधूयमाणगुरुगुणध्वनेः पार्थिवप्रधानस्यापि गुणमयस्य राज्ञः श्रीपद्मनाभदासवक्षिपालकुलशेखर-  
रामवर्मणो भागिनेयेन रामवर्मनामधयेन etc.

the queen's calculations and the royal barge was stranded on that part of the Travancore shore which was in the jurisdiction of the frontier-captain (*antardūrṇa-pāla*) Vāsumadrāja, the brother of the king's consort, Vāsumatī. The shipwrecked princess was then sent by this captain to his sister at the capital where her beauty at once captivated the pliable heart of king Rāmavarman, the hero of the drama. The usual love intrigue culminates in a clandestine meeting of the lovers in the Palace garden and the jealous senior then attempts to dispose of her rival by marriage to her cousin, the Pāṇḍya king. But this scheme is frustrated by the king and his accomplice, the inevitable Vidūshaka, who in the disguise of the Pāṇḍya king and his friend receive the bride. In the meantime, the Sindhu-rāja learns of the whereabouts of his missing daughter through Nītisāgara, the Travancore minister, and coming to Travancore with a large escort confirms the betrothal of king Rāmavarman with Vasulākshmī, which happily coincides with his own inclinations.

This, in short, is a summary of the five-act drama purged of all the extraneous matter that had of necessity to be introduced to illustrate the several rules and definitions of dramaturgy and the long-drawn love scenes dictated by the conventional canons of literary tradition. It is not known if there is any inner significance underlying the story of Vasulākshmī's parentage in far-off Sindhu, her ship-wreck on the Travancore shores enroute Ceylon, and her marriage with Rāmavarman to the discomfiture of the two other rivals in the field, the princes respectively of Simhala and Pāṇḍya. In the present state of our ignorance about the royal household<sup>3</sup> of king Rāmavarman, we can only say that this love episode is a mere creation of the poet's imagination and the combined result of an anxiety on his part to flatter his patron and to compose a work in the accepted style in conformity with the orthodox literary rules. The names given by the author for the important *dramatis personae* are very misleading and except the name of the king there is none other answering, so far as we know, to those of contemporary historical personages. The minister bears the professionally significant name of Nītisāgara, while the coast-captain is a Vāsumadrāja, his sister is a Vāsumatī, and the Sindhu princess is a Vasulākshmī, all these three names being derived from the word '*vasu*' (=wealth). The suggestion therefore offers itself as to whether the author wanted to glorify in allegory some of the king's and his uncle's conquests<sup>1</sup> and annexations near by though not in far-off Sindhu or whether a merchantman loaded with cargo from Sindhu and bound for Ceylon, which was perhaps stranded on the Travancore shores owing to the inclemencies of the weather was overhauled as prize by the Travancore coasting garrison and sent as salvage to the king at his capital.<sup>2</sup>

There is again in the same Library an extremely ill-copied manuscript of another five-act drama called by the same title of *Vasulākshmī-kalyāṇam* which is stated to have been composed in the year Viśvāvasu, without any indication, being given of its equivalent in the Śaka or the Kollam era; but as Kollam 960 (A. D. 1785) the twenty-sixth year of reign of Rāmavarman was also the cyclic year

1. *Trav State Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 333 et. seq.

2. There is, however, no incident of this kind mentioned in the *Manual*.

3. One modern Malayalam book mentions that the King had four successive consorts.

Viśvāvasu, that year may be taken to be its date of composition. Its hero is the same illustrious king of Travancore<sup>1</sup> and its author who is quite different from Saṅkṣīpa, the composer of the other drama inserted into the *Vasobhūṣhanam*, is a certain Venkaṭasubrahmaṇyaādhvarin<sup>2</sup> of the famous family of Appayya-Dīkshita (1553-1626) of Aḍaiyappalam.

The plot of this drama, though similar in all essential particulars to that of the model drama noticed above, has been amplified in some details: but it is also unfortunately devoid of any special historical references except that the marriage of the princess of Sindh with Rāmavarman is stated to have been a diplomatic alliance calculated to raise him to the status of a *sārabhauma*<sup>3</sup> through the augmented

1 तदामुध्यायनस्यास्य प्रबन्धे विशिष्य पुण्यमहाराजरामवर्मकुलशेखरवीरतानुबन्धो कुतो नमे भूयानादराति शयः स्यात् ।

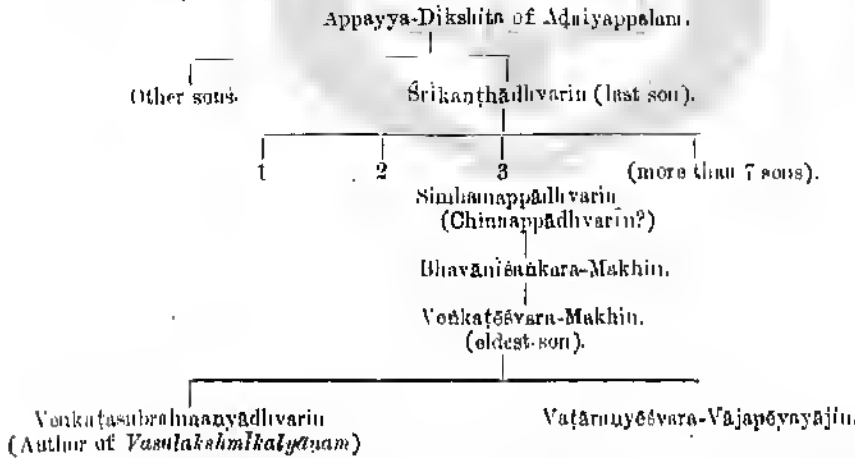
2 अप्पय्याध्वरिखुतेष्व(षु)चरम श्री[नील\*]कण्ठाध्वरी  
तत्पुत्रेषु दशाधिकैष्वपि तृतीयस्तिष्ठामप्पाध्वरी ।  
तस्माच्चापि भवानीशङ्करमखी ज्येष्ठो गुणैरावभूत्  
तस्यैकोऽजनि वेङ्कटेश्वरमखी यस्यायसूनुः कविः ॥

विद्वत्कुलगुर्वप्पय्यमखिना वंशो महोन्नतो जीयात् ।

वेङ्कटमुब्रह्मण्याध्वरिकविविद्वन्मणिर्यतोऽहोदभूत् ॥

इत एवाधीतनिगमादिसर्वविद्यः दिगन्तविदितनिजवैखरीविभवविद्रासितविमतवादिगजकेसरी वटारण्येश्वरवाज-  
पेययार्जीलभिज्ञायते ।

The genealogy works out as follows:



The two names Srikantha and Simhamappa seem to be incorrectly copied in the manuscript, for another copy of the same work available at Karantholuvu in the Coimbatore District reads Nilakantha and Chinnappādhvarin respectively. Compare also the following sentence occurring in the same drama:—

अस्य कवेः पूर्विकाः श्रीमदप्पय्याध्वरितनुच्छन्नस्य भगवत्तन्त्रमौलेरंभूताः नीलकण्ठमखिचिन्नप्पय्या-  
ध्वरिवेङ्कटेश्वरमखिप्रभाकरदीक्षित प्रभृतयः षड्दर्शनीवल्लभाऽपि नल्लचरितोमापरिणयोषाह-  
रणहरिश्चन्द्रानन्दप्रभृतिरपरिमितैर्नाटकादिप्रबन्धैरुपकमादेव etc.

3 परीक्ष्य लक्षणज्ञाता दैवज्ञानां मुखात्स्वयं ।

निर्धैवीद्विवोदुस्तां सार्वभौमत्वलम्भिकाम् ॥

friendship of the Hūparāja, (the Hon'ble East India Company?). There is no reference at all to the attempted invasion of Hyder Ali (A. D. 1769) or to the anxious political outlook of the country with the imminence of an impending foreign invasion looming to the north of the Travancore Lines, or even to the Mahārāja's grand pilgrimage to Rāmēśvaram which was undertaken in A. D. 1784,<sup>1</sup> just a year previous to the probable date of composition of the drama. Instead, the author has given the usual conventional setting to the whole plot which makes it difficult to discover whether, if at all, any allegorical significance has to be read between the lines. With the exception of king Rānavarman, the hero, all the other important characters of the drama are given fictitious names coined from the same Sanskrit word '*vasu*', as can be seen from the appended list.

*Buddhisāgara*-minister, *Vasusēna*-Commander, *Vasumatī*, consort of the Mahārāja, *Vasumān*-consort's brother and frontier-captain, *Vasuvārman*-Chēra prince, *Vasunidhi*-Sindhu-rāja. *Vasurāsi*—his son and *Vasulakshmī*—Sindhu princess.

The story of this drama is briefly as follows:—

The minister *Buddhisāgara* who has seen the portrait of *Vasulakshmī*, the Sindhu princess, is anxious that the king of Travancore should marry her, so that the latter's political influence may extend northwards and his friendship with the Hūparāja may also be strengthened. When news is received that the Sindhu princess is voyaging to Ceylon, the minister manages to waylay this ship in the Travancore waters with the active cooperation of the Hūpa fleet, and *Vasumān*, the officer in command of the sea-coast who was also the brother of the Travancore king's consort, sends the captive-princess to the royal Palace. There the king falls in love with her and manages to meet her in the royal pleasure gardens to the intense chagrin of *Vasumatī* who tries to marry her rival to the Chēra prince *Vasuvārman* and thus remove the unwelcome competitor out of the way. This plot fails, as in the other drama, by the counter-machinations of the king and his *Vidūshaka* who successfully personate the Chēra prince and his boon-companion. By the artful scheming of the minister coupled with the influence of her brother, *Vasumatī* is however, finally won over to consent to the marriage of *Vasulakshmī* with her own husband and the Sindhu prince *Vasurāsi*, instructed by *Buddhisāgara* comes posthaste from his country to celebrate his sister's marriage with the Travancore king. By this alliance, it is stated, the friendship of both the parties with the Hūparāja was strengthened and the influence of the Travancore king was visibly enhanced.

It will be seen from the above summary that the thread of the above story is the same as that of the other drama of the same name and that the difference is only in the names of the characters. The only new point here is the introduction of the Hūparāja as the third party in the alliance; but unluckily no definite clue for the identification of this foreigner is forthcoming in the drama. In all probability, however, the allusion may fitly be to the Hon'ble East India Company, which has been described<sup>2</sup> as, and was in actuality, a fast-rising power in the

1. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, page 384.

2. तदनेन तीर्थेन हिमवत्पश्चिमान्पवासिनोऽपि भरतवर्षमात्राव्यापिनः दूणराजस्य चिरप्रवृत्तमपि सख्यं देवेन बहुलीभविष्यतीति मन्ये ।

political horizon of India, whose help and goodwill were much coveted and sought after by the Indian princes of that period. From the *Travancore State Manual*,<sup>1</sup> it is learnt that the port of Alleppey was opened out for commerce in the reign of this king Rāmaparman much to the detriment of the Dutch trade and that great facilities were afforded to certain wealthy merchants of Sindh and Cutch to colonise at that port so as to assure the commercial prosperity of the State. In the drama again Sindhurāja is mentioned as the friend of Rāmaparman's uncle,<sup>2</sup> Mārtāṇḍavarman, and although the province of Sindh is specifically mentioned as located in northern India with the country of Kuchcha in its vicinity, one is led to think that the references in the drama are not to the northern provinces of Sindh and Cutch as such, but to some merchants of these countries who were carrying on a brisk trade along the West Coast down to Ceylon and whose settlement at the new port of Alleppey was the happy achievement of king Rāmaparman. When the Dutch trade was thus undermined, the Hon'ble East India Company which had only a few decades ago got a slippery footing at Anjengo and Viliñam was now enabled to have a more secure base of operations, both commercial and political in the West Coast, and with the establishment of good relations between the Travancore king and the northern merchant princes of Sindh and Cutch, it also slowly strengthened its influence and enlarged its sphere of activity further up in the north. This appears to be the only plausible interpretation of the story of *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam*, in the absence of other evidence to connote an actual marriage of the king with a Sindh princess called Vasulakshmī.<sup>3</sup> Her name which literally means the 'Goddess of wealth' may aptly do duty for a personification of the anticipated commercial prosperity of the State consequent on the colonisation of the northern merchants, whose introduction into the country and the grant of special privileges to whom were, however, first viewed with disfavour and jealousy by the conservative merchants of the soil as represented by the legal consort, Vasumatī (the Earth), until their prejudice was tided over by proper arguments adduced by the able minister: while Vasumān, the *Vēladurūpāla* (the port-officer?), who was also convinced of the advantages that would accrue to the State by Vasulakshmī's marriage (increased commercial activity) heartily sided with the minister in his endeavours to win over Vasumatī's consent.

In the chapter on *Śabdalaṅkāra* in the *Rāmaparman-yasobhūṣaṇam* have been given under the section of *Chitrālaṅkāra* a few verses composed in the more popular of the *bandhas*, such as the *nāga*, *chakra*, *ratha* and *aṣṭadalapadma*, with diagrams showing the manner in which the syllables are to be arranged in them. These form an interesting study in themselves and show the flexibility with which the Sanskrit language was handled by the poets in the feats of verbal gymnastics practised by them as a leisure hour recreation. In this connection, it is interesting

1. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 372

2. अस्मन्मातुलबालमेतमसकृत्कर्णान्तरङ्गीकृतः

योषीती धनुषागमेषु सहस्रैः तुल्यश्च बाहोर्वले ।

सिन्धोदतरकच्छभूमिमवधीकृत्य हिमाद्रिः क्षिति

रक्षन्दिक्पतिसन्निभो बभूवनिधिः ह्यातप्रभावः क्षिती ॥

3. A modern work in prose on *vaṅmāṃsā* states that the king had four consorts in succession, viz., Kāliammāi-Nāgamāi of Nagoreoil and three others from Vadaŕeri, Arumāni and Tiruvattāra ammaridus.

to note that the diagram for the *Chakrabandha* given in the manuscript is the correct form drawn and filled in according to the instructions given in the commentary. It exhibits the name of the author and his work in a proper alignment in the concentric circles; whereas the diagram given in the Allahabad edition of the *Pralāparudrīya* is incorrect in so far as the names of the author and his work are not so easily discernible or so symmetrically arranged. The Saṅgam edition of *Māṇḍalāṅkāram* also gives the correct diagram of a *śaḍārachakram* with the Tamil letters properly arranged.

### No. 6.—Marttandavarman's Record of Kollam 925.

This record is found written in Tamil characters and in the Malayalam language on a leaf of cadjan preserved in the Vernacular Records Office at Trivandrum and from the statement that it is only a copy (*ediriḍa*), its original, which must necessarily have been engraved on copper considering the importance of the record, may perhaps be found stowed away in the archives of the Trivandrum temple among many other equally valuable and possibly earlier documents relating to that temple's administration. These, if made available for purposes of detailed examination, will help in the elucidation of many events appertaining to Travancore history.

In spite of its apparently recent date of Kollam 925, the importance of this document lies in the fact that it records an unique historical episode known as *Tiruppaḍi dānam*,<sup>1</sup> wherein king Mārttandavarman is stated to have dedicated his whole kingdom to god Padmanābha, the tutelary deity of the Travancore Royal House, while he conducted the administration as the god's agent (*Bhaṇḍārakkāriyam-seyvār*). That this *coup-d'état* was calculated to safeguard the solidarity of his newly acquired dominions from the counter reprisals of his whilom enemies, who dared not proceed against territories dedicated to and therefore belonging exclusively to god was not an innovation of this king, but that the idea that the Tiruvaḍi-rājya was god's country was current two centuries earlier even during the time of the invasion of Vēṇāḍu by the Vijayanagara king Achyutarāya has been dealt with at length in Volume IV of the *Series*. Mārttandavarman's successor Rāmavarman went through the same dedication ceremony in about Kollam 938-9.

The boundaries of the dominions which were thus disposed of are only vaguely given here viz., the fort of Tōvāla on the east and Kāvaṇāru in the west; but the territory must have been big enough as Mārttandā, the Conqueror, had by the Kollam year 925 annexed or subdued many of the principalities with which

1. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, 362: Compare

പരമനാഭസമർപ്പിതമായി ധനത്തുകൻ ധരണീകരനെ

പരമനാഭപുരാജമാകുന്ന സമ്മതമുള്ള ചമച്ചുടൻ

\* \* \* \* \*

സങ്കലനൻ പദപുടതപതമതിയഞ്ചിതുമിപ്പുരന്തൻ

from *Pañchāṇḍrapāhyanam* of Kuṇḍjan-Nambiyār.

and പുറത്തുള്ള ധന്യൻ ധരണീനൂതമുഖി

കുനിച്ചിട്ടും ഭക്തിയോടമ്പലത്തിൽ

ചെന്നബഹുനാഭന്റെ പാദംബുരുത്തിൽ

തമ്പുരാ സമർപ്പിച്ചിട്ടു രാമൻ രാജ്യം.

തൂലപ്പറമ്പിൽ കയക്കലി പരാകം

ശ്രീപരമനാഭന്റെ നടുക്കുപാതി

സർവ്വസ്വഭരതത്തിൻ മകക്കുമായ് -

ഗുരും വേദത്തിട്ടുവാളു വെച്ചു.



southern Kēraḷa was dotted: Āttuṅgal, Quilon, Kāyaṅḡulam and Kottāarakkara, Ambalappuḷa and the chieftaincies of Tekkuṅkūr and Vadakkuṅkūr.

**Text.<sup>1</sup>**

*First side.*

- 1 உ<sup>2</sup> ஸ்ரீராம<sup>3</sup>செயம் [11\*]
- 2 திர்ப்பாப்பூர் மூத்ததிருவடி இருந்தருளியெடத்திங்கல்ந் நிற்றும் கல்பி-  
ச்சு பெருமாள் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலக்கு இராச்சியம் எழுதிவச்ச சிறுவ-  
ருவார்ப்பண<sup>4</sup> ஓலக்கு எழுதின எதிரட [11\*]
- 3 சய்யயிரு நெடு தை<sup>5</sup> நெடு
- 4 சிர்ச்சிக சனி மீனவியாமும் செந்ந கொல்லம் தொள்ளாயிரத்து இருபத்த-  
பயாமாண்ட மகரமாதம் நெடு புதனாகையும் பூதவபகஷத்து சத்தமியும்  
இந்நாவால் எழுதிய சதுவருவார்ப்பண ஓலைக்கரணமாகிது [11\*]
- 5 ஸ்ரீ பண்டாரக்காரியம் செயிவார்களாய வாலமார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்மராய திர-  
ப்பாப்பூர் மூப்பில் நிற்றும் தங்கலக்கு ஒள்ள தோவாளகொட்டைக்கு  
படிஞாறு கவனாற்றினு கிழக்கொள்ள
- 6 இராச்சியத்தினு அகத்து ஒள்ளது நாளதுவரை நமக்கு அவகாசமாயிட்டு  
அனுபவிச்ச வருந்ந வத்து கிற்ற்தியங்கனும் தானமானங்கனும் எப்-  
பேர்ப்பட்டதும்
- 7 பெருமாள் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலக்கு சதுவருவார்ப்பணமாக ஆசெந்நிரு-  
க்கமெ எழுதிக்கொடுத்தார் [11\*]

*Second side.*

- 8 ஸ்ரீபண்டாரக்காரியம் செய்வார்களாய வாலமார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்மராய திர-  
ப்பாப்பூர் மூப்பில் நிற்றும்
- 9 இம்மார்க்கமெ இ சதுவருவார்ப்பண ஓல வகை யெழுதிய மெலெழுத்துக்  
கணக்கு சங்கரகாமார [11\*] ட்டன் எழுத்து [11\*]

**Translation.**

Victory to Śrī-Rāma!

This is a copy of the *sarvasvārpaṇa-ḷa* (document) relating to the dedica-  
tion of the kingdom to the *śrībhaṇḍāra* of Perumāḷ, which was made in writing by  
śrī-Vīra-Bālamārttāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr Mūta-tiruvāḍi of (the) Tirup-  
pāppūr(-*svārūpam*) and (the) Kīlappērūr(-*illam*), from his palace.

Kollam 925, Tai 5.

This is the document relating to the wholesale dedication (*sarvasvārpaṇam*)  
which was written on the 5th day of the month of Makara in the Kollam year

1. Registered as No. 13 of the *Trav. Epig. Colln.* for 1098 M. E.

2. Expressed by a symbol.

3. The symbol— does duty for the word மார்த்தாண்ட.

4. The correct form is ஸவ-ஆஸூரவ-ஆண.

सर्वस्वार्पण is the giving away of the whole of one's possessions and it is considered to be a very  
meritorious kind of gift. सर्वस्वदान is the name also of a variety of adoption practised in  
Nambudiri families, where in cases of absence of male issue to a deceased head, a man is  
adopted into the illam by giving away all the family property to him as dowry to the  
daughter of the house whom he marries.

5. Expressed by a symbol.

nine hundred and twenty-five, when Saturn was in Vriśchika and Jupiter stood in Mīna, which was a Wednesday with *saptamī-tīthi* of the first fortnight:

Bālamārttāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr-Mūppu who was the head of the Government gave away (in writing) to the (*bhaṇḍāra*) treasury of Perumāḷ (god Padmanābha of Trivandrum) (to last) till the moon and sun (endure), all the property, duties, grants etc. from the kingdom lying to the west of Tōvālakōtta and to the east of Kāvaṇāru which belonged to, and were till that date being enjoyed by, him.

This is the signature of the *mēlēluttu* (head-accountant), Saṅkara-Kuṁāra-bhaṭṭaṇ who wrote in this manner this *sarvasvārpaṇa* transaction of Bālamārttāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr-Mūppu, who was the head of the Government.

### No. 7—Cheramangalam records of Jatavarman Sundara-Chola-Pandya.

The subjoined two records in the Vaṭṭeluttu script and the Tamil language are engraved on the south base of the central shrine of the Viṣṇu temple at Chēramangalam, a small village in the Eraniel taluk of the Padmanabhapuram Division. They belong to Jaṭavarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya, the first Chōla-Pāṇḍya viceroy who was appointed by Rājendrachōla I for the administration of his Pāṇḍya dominions, and are dated in the 19th and [6]th years of the former's reign. The writing of the second of these inscriptions seems however to be later than the Vaṭṭeluttu script of the middle of the 11th century, either because the engraver was a slovenly individual or this inscription was perhaps a copy incised at some later date.

The donor of the zinc lamp-stand mentioned in the first inscription was a certain Māyilattī, brother of Kaḷaṇi-Veṇṇi of Śaṅkarappādi who figures as a donor to the Viṣṇu temple at Suchīndram in a record<sup>1</sup> of the 9th year of the same viceroi, where his full name is given as Kaḷaṇi-Veṇṇi *alias* Madhurāntakap-pērariyaṇ. He must have been an individual of some consequence residing at Kōttāru and his brother, the donor in the Chēramangalam record, was employed as an *orrai-chēvakaṇ* in the army. Both of them must have accompanied Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya's army from the Chōla dominions, because Māyilattī is a name which is often met with in the Chōla inscriptions of the Tamil districts. *Orrai-chēvakaṇ* as a military term occurs in two inscriptions of the Pāṇḍya kings Maṇṇiṇḍaiyaṇ<sup>2</sup> and Vīra-Pāṇḍya,<sup>3</sup> and it may mean 'soldiers engaged on spying work' (*orru*=espionage and *orrai*=a spy); but then the word may have to be *orru-chēvakaṇ* or *orrai-chēvakaṇ*. *Orrai* means 'single' and *orrai-chēvakaṇ* were probably subordinate officers with some individual status as against an ordinary soldier who formed part and parcel of a battalion. It is noteworthy that some of the individuals mentioned in the Chōla-Pāṇḍya inscriptions<sup>4</sup> copied from the Suchīndram temple were influential military officers of the Chōla garrison:

1. *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 135.
2. *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 158.
3. *ibid.* Vol. III, p. 73.
4. *ibid.* Vol. IV, pp. 132, 136, 137.

namely, *Śeṇāpati Malayappichōḷan*, *Paḍaittalaivar* Kāvāpai-Karuvūr and *Danda-nāyakan Vēḷan-Śōḷakēraḷan*. *Ten-Tiruvāṅgamudaiyār* the god of the Vishnu temple of Chēramaṅgalam and *Ten-Tiruvāṅgamudaiyār* installed within the big temple at Suchindram, were perhaps named after the gods of the highly sacred temples at Tiruvāṅgam (Śrīraṅgam) and Tiruvāṅgam (Tirupatī) in the Madras Presidency.

It may be noted that donors' names were very often attached to the gifts made by them to the temples. In many cases the thrones, halls and other objects and gifts with which certain kings were connected, came to be called by their names or by some of the most distinctive of their *birudas*: e. g., *Rājarājān(-mandapa)*, *Aṟiyamavallān(-pandal)*, *Vīravallān(-simhāsana)*, *Kuḷśēkharān(-paḍi)*, *Kuḷōt-tuṅgusōḷan* (palace), *Narasīṅgamudaiyāraian(-ponyal)*, *Sundara-Pāṇḍyan(-sandi)*, *Rājakēsarikkāl* (a measure), *Śērāntaku* (vessel) are some of the many instances known from inscriptions. In a similar manner, the lamp-stand presented by Māyalaṭṭi was named *Tiruvogṇichehāvakan*, after the donor's profession.

The second epigraph records that a certain *Iṟaiyān-Achchan* gave surety for the payment by himself of the taxes due on certain temple lands, in case the principal party called *Āyiravaṇ-Devan* went out of the village, and to further pay a fine of six *kaḷañju* of gold to the king or temple, if he acted against this agreement. *Maṇṇu-māṇipōkil* is an expression which has been tentatively rendered into 'if he leaves the assembly', *maṇṇu* signifying the meeting-place of the village assembly. The term *maṇṇāḍi* therefore refers to a member of the *maṇṇu*, i. e., one who pleads cases in a village assembly<sup>1</sup>. It also means 'a shepherd'. The caste *maṇṇāḍiyār* has however been derived from *maṇ*-earth and *nēḍiyār*-earners.

*Mudukudī*—is the name of the original Dravidian inhabitants whose modern representatives in the Travancore State are said to be the hill-tribes (*malaiyaravar*) called the *Muduvār*<sup>2</sup>; but it does not seem probable that *Āyiravaṇ-Devan* of the present record belonged to that class. *Mūttakudī*<sup>3</sup> occurs in the Kēraḷapuram inscriptions, where it refers to a family of dancing girls attached to the Śiva temple at that place.

The other four inscriptions, three in Vaṭṭeḷuttu and the fourth in Tamil, are not of any importance, being but fragments. No. C seems to refer to a gift of an utensil called *giṇḍi* for use in the temple, while No. F states that the village of Chēramaṅgalam was a *brahmadēya* of Rājarāja-Tēppāḍu.

## A

*On the south base of the central shrine.*

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [ஈ\*] கொச்சையவன்மரான ஸ்ரீசந்தரசொழபாண்டியதேவர்க்கு யாண்டு பத்தொன்பதாவது சொழமண்டலத்தில் அருமொழி தெவ்வன் [கா\*]ட்டு புறங்.

1. பழையமண்டுடிபோலியினென்று பண்டிதமிக்க — *Periyapurānam*.

2. *Pornādhikāra-arāycheḷi*, p. 11.

3. *Vide*. Kēraḷapuram records published below.

(A) Registered as No. 76 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. S.

- 2 கரம்பை நாட்டு முக்கரையான மும்முடிசொழபுரத்து இருக்கு[ம்\*] ச  
கம்பாடியான் கழனி [வெண்ணியென்] மம்பி திருவொற்றைச்செவக  
மாயலட்டியென் இராசராசதெ[ன்\*]னாட்டு சொமங்கலத்து தெவர்  
தென் திருவரங்கமுடையார் [ம்\*]குச்
- 3 சந்திராதித்தவல் நின்றெரிய வைச்ச தாராவிளக்கு வெள்ளிக்கொலால்  
நிறை அறுபது [1\*] இவ்விளக்கு திருவொற்றைச்செவகன் என்பது  
சந்திராதித்தவல் நின்றெரியும்படித் திருவொற்றைச்செவக மாயலட்டி  
வைச்ச திருந்தாவிளக்கு [11\*]

### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the nineteenth year of king Jātavarman *alias* Śrī Sundaraśōla-Pāṇḍyadēva, Tiruvorrai-chēhēvaka-Māyalattī, brother of Kalavivēnni of Sāṅkarappādi residing in Mukkarai *alias* Munnuḍiśōlapuram, a village of Puraṅkarambaī-nāḍu which is a sub-division of Arumolideva-valanāḍu, a district of Śōla maṇḍalam, gave a zinc lamp-stand weighing sixty (*palam*) by the *velliḱkōl*, for burning as long as the moon and sun (last) a perpetual lamp to the god Teṇ-Tiruvaraṅgamuḍaiyār of Śeramaṅgalam, (a village) of Rājaraṅju-Tēṇṇāḍu. This lamp-stand called Tiruvorrai-chēhēvakan is the perpetual lamp given by Tiruvorrai-chēhēvaka-Māyalattī, to burn as long as the moon and sun (endure).

### B

(On the south base of the central shrine.)

- 1 ஸ்வஸ்தி [1\*] கொச்சடைபவன்மரான ஸ்ரீசந்தாசொழபாண்டியதெவர்-  
[ம்\*]கு யாண்டு [ஆறு]வது தென்திருவரங்கமுடையார் கொவிலில்  
முதுகுடி செந்தில் ஆயிரவ-
- 2 [தெ]வன் மன்றுமாறி பொகில் தன்கு<sup>1</sup> ஆக இறை புனைபடுவென் இவ்வு  
ரை<sup>3</sup> மன்றுடி.
- 3 இறையான் அச்சன்னென் இப்படி அன்றென்[ள்]ல் அன்றாடு கொவி-  
னுக்கு<sup>2</sup> அறுகழு[ம்\*]சு பொன் படுவொதாக
- 4 ஒட்டி திட்டு செலுத்துவதாக ஒட்டி கையத்திட்டிக் குடுத்தொம் இவ்விரு  
வொம் சொமங்கலத்து ஸ்ரீசொழபார்க்கு [11\*]
- 5 இப்படி அறிவெ<sup>4</sup>

### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the sixth year of king Jātavarman *alias* Śrī-Sundaraśōla-Pāṇḍyadēva, I, Irūiyān-Achēlan, a *maṇḍāḍi* of this village shall be security for the tax (due) as my (own) debt, if Āyiravaṇ-Devaṇ of Śendil the tenant (*mudukudī*) of the temple of Teṇ-Tiruvaraṅgamuḍaiyār should shift from (the jurisdiction of) this assembly. If I say nay to this, I shall incur a fine of six *kaḷarṅju* of gold to the king for each day (of default).

Thus, we two agreed (to the above) and gave a written declaration to the council (*sabhaiyār*) of Chēramanṅgalam. This (I) know .....

(B) Registered as No. 77 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1893 M. B.

1. It is probably a contraction for தன் கட[ம்\*] ஆக ஓர் கட[ம்\*] குச்.

2. If it is கொவினுக்கு, the fine was payable to the temple.

3. Read இவ்வுர்.

4. The record stops here.

C

*On the south base of the central shrine.*

- 1 ஸ்ரீ [1\*] செரமங்கலத்து இணைய கிங்க<sup>1</sup> -
- 2 வீர[ன்\*] தென்திருவரங்கமுடையபா[ர\*]க்கு இட்ட கிண்டி . . . . .<sup>2</sup>

D

*On a pillar in front of the temple.*

- |           |            |
|-----------|------------|
| 1 தென்ந்- | 3 கங்கத்து |
| 2 திருவா- | 4 ஆழ்வார்  |

**No. 9—An inscription from Tiruvanvandur.**

Tiruvanvandur which is known by the name of Tiruvenmandur and Tiruvammandur in inscriptions is one of the thirteen holy places of Malai-mandalam sung in the hymns of Nammālvār. It is referred to in the *Nālāyiraprabandham*<sup>4</sup> as well as in *Māranalankārām*<sup>5</sup> and *Aṣṭaprabandham*<sup>6</sup> as Tiruvanvandur, the change of *vandur* into *mandur* being accounted for by the genius of the Malayalam language (*c.f.*, *vanṇāṇ*, *manṇāṇ*).

(C) & (D). These are registered as Nos. 78 and 79 of Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 A. D. (Vaṭṭeṭṭu and Tamil).

- 1 Read இரணியகங்கைன்.
- 2 A few letters mentioning the weight of the *gindī* (vessel with a spout) are missing.
- 3 The following two inscriptions are fragmentary records in Vaṭṭeṭṭu.

E.—(No. 80 of 1093).

- 1 ஸ்ரீ [1\*] இடவத்தில் வியா . . . . .
- 2 ந் செரமங்கலத்து தெவர் தென்றி . . . . .
- 3 ட்டு அபியனா அழகியபாண்டி . . . . .
- 4 திணைபூமி பட்டணமான . . . . .
- 5 பொகம் ஆழ்வாரத்து முத்தரை ஆ . . . . .
- 6 கைக்கு மெக்கு காண்கு வட . . . . .

F.—(On the *batikkal*).

- 1 ஸ்ரீ [1\*] நாராயணத்தென்குட்டு ஸ்ரீ . . . . .
- 2 ஹதேயம் செரமங்கலத்து ஆழ்வார் தென்றி . . . . .
- 3 வரங்க
- 4 *Tiruvāymoli*, VI, 1.
- 5 மலர்மகள் செர்மணிமார்பன் வைகடும் வைகடும் மதுகில்  
வண்டுர் வண்டுர் — *Māranalankārām*, v. 713.
- 6 தேசமுலகுமுலிநுத் திரிந்துகிந்தும்  
யாவும் படைத்த வினாகண்டர்.—பூவிற்  
நிருவண்வண்டுறையுத் தேவாதிதேவன்  
மருவண்வண்டுர் துளவமால். — *Narayan-tiruppaṭi-andadi*, v. 67.

The Vishnu temple at that place, which must therefore be of great antiquity dating at least from the time of Nammālvār, the Vaishṇava saint who has been considered by some to have flourished about the beginning of the 9th century, contains also epigraphical evidence of its early age in the two records of the Venādu king Śrīvallabhaṅgōdai (about A. D. 970) which have been published already. The present record can from its writing be approximately assigned to about the same period or a few decades later.

It registers a gift of some lands by Ediraṇ-Kaviraṇ of Kurattikkādu for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the Vishnu temple at Tiruvānmandūr, which were left in the hands of a body called the *aṅḡu-gaṇattār*<sup>1</sup>, who were to enjoy the lands and burn the lamp in the temple. The donor, however, retained the right to take back the lands from these men if they were remiss in their service and to give them to his own descendants to cultivate and continue the supply of ghee for the perpetual lamp. The 'three-hundred' of Nāṇḡalai-nādu were entrusted with the general supervision of this charity.

It is interesting to note that in all the three epigraphs of Tiruvānmandūr the transgressors were threatened with the penalty of the operation of the Muḷik-kāla-kachalam, which must have wielded considerable influence in those days. Muḷikkalam or Mūshikkalam was one of the four places, where an early *kalakam* (*kalakam*) or assembly was installed according to the *Keralolpatti*.

The proper names occurring in the record are:

Ediraṇ-Kaviraṇ of Kurattikkādu (in the Tiruvalla taluk),  
Sēman-Kannaṇ of Charnpūdimāṅgalam,  
Sattāṇ-Kiraṇ of Tālañjēri,  
Sūvaraṇ-Sattāṇ of Nārāyaṇamāṅgalam,  
Dēvaṇ-Sēmaṇ of Elimūlaichebēri,  
Sāṅkaraṇ-Sūvaraṇ of Tālainaṇ, and  
Vaṇḡkikōdu and Uḍiyaṅkōdu among names of fields.

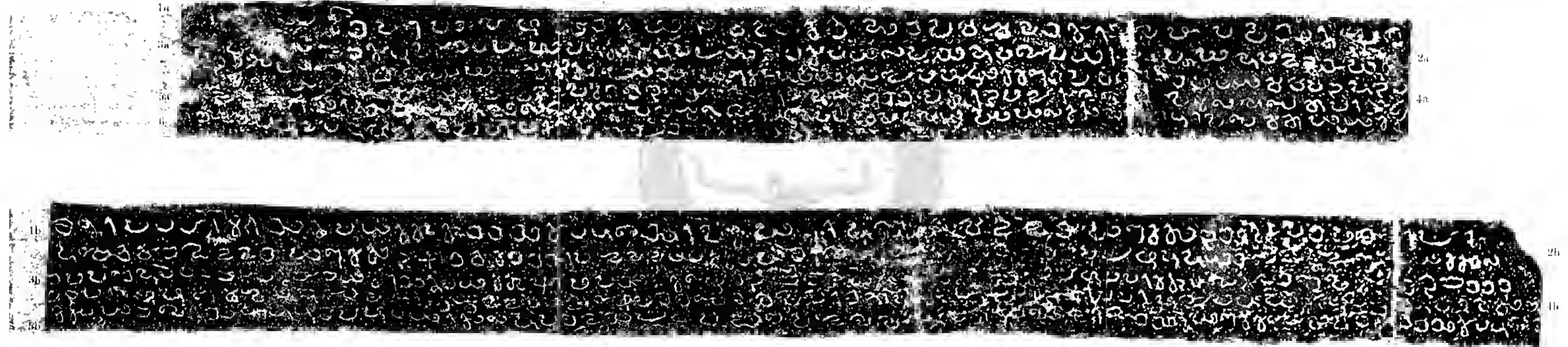
### Text.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 . . . கர் . [ட] கத்துள் வியாழ நிற்க மிரிச்சிகஞாயிற்றுச் செய்த காரியமா  
வது [1\*] திருவெண்மண்டுர் பட்டாரகர் திருவடிக்கு குறத்திகாட்டு எதி  
ரங்கவிபர் அலமச்ச நந்தாளிளக்கினு திருவெண்மண்டுர் ஊரா -
- 2 . . . முன்று பொன் கொடுத்து [கொ]ண்ட பூமி [1\*] வடுகிகொடும் உதியன்  
கொட்டில் பாதியும் இவ்விர [ண்டு] பூமியும் நந்தாளிளக்கினு அமைச்சான்  
[1\*] இநந்தாளிளக்கினு ஐஞ்சு கணத்தாரும் நெய் யட்டக்கடவியர் [1\*]  
இவ்வஞ்சு கணத்தாரும் உருவு அடுத்தா லு ஒருநாள் [முட்] டிக்கில்
- 3 . . . ம் உழுமவகளுக்கு இப்பூமி விலக்கிலும் திருவிளக்கு முட்டிக்கிலும் மு  
ழிக்களத்து படுவதெ [1\*] முட்டிச்சுவனு அனுபந்தம் பறையுமவனும்  
பெருமானடிகள் திருவடிக்கு ஐம்பதின்குழஞ்சு பொன்தண்டம் . . .  
. . . நாவொழுமவர்க்கும் இருபத்தைந் [கழைஞ்ஞ] பொன்தத்-

1 Compare also the *pañcagāṇas* of the epic age and the *aṁperuṇḡḡu* of Tamil literature.

2 This is registered as No. 16 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. E.

No. 9—THIRUVANVANDIR INSCRIPTION.



A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

Scale: One-eighths.

- 4 . . . . .சுருப்பெதிமங்கலத்து செந்நங் கண்ணனும் தர[ழ]ஞ்செரியுடை சா  
த்தங் கிரனும் நாராயணமங்கலயுடை அவரஞ் சாத்தனும் எழுமுனைச்செ  
ரியுடைய தெவஞ் செந்நனும் தாழைமன்னனுடைய சங்நராஞ் சுவரனும்  
இவகள் ஐய்வரும் இப்பூமிக்கு இ[றை] அ[மி]ச்சின
- 5 . . . . .யிராதொழிவொராயில் இவகளுடைய செல[ரிது]<sup>1</sup> எப்படிப்பட்டி  
தும் கிலக்கி யுள் தடுத்துவைச்ச மிட்டிக்கொள்ளக்கடவிய<sup>2</sup>ன் [1\*] ஒரு  
கிலங் அடுத்து முட்டிக்கில் அவன் தந்ததி<sup>3</sup> உழுது நின் று நெய்யட்டக்  
கடவியர் [1\*] இத்திருவிளக்கு வைச்சான் குறத்திகாட்டு அதி-
- 6 . . . . .<sup>4</sup>ரன் நன் முழநாட்டு முந்நாற்றுவரும் கண்டு செலுத்தக் கடவியர்[11\*]

### Translation.

In the month of Vriśchika when Jupiter stood in . . . taka, the following transaction was made:—

Edirāṇ-Kaviraṇ of Kuṇṭtikāḍu gave, by purchase for . 3 poṇ from the *ārār* of Tiruvannamḍur, the two (pieces of) lands Vādugi-kōḍu and a half of Uḍiyāṇ-kōḍu, for the perpetual lamp which he instituted in the temple of (the god) Tiruvannamḍūr-Bhaṭṭāraka. The five representatives (*ṇaṇattār*) shall measure out ghee to this perpetual lamp. If in the cultivation of this land . . . . . be stopped for one day . . . . ., if the tenants be ejected from this land, and if the sacred lamp fail (to be lighted), they shall be subject to (the penalty of) Mūlikkaḷam. The defaulter and he who abets him shall pay a fine of fifty *kaḷañju* of gold to the king (Perumānaḍigal-Tiruvaḍi) and a fine of twenty-five *kaḷañju* of gold to the officer administering the district.

Seṇṇaṇ-Kaṇṇaṇ of Saruppēlimanḡalam, Sāttan-Kiraṇ of Tāḷañjeri, Suvanaṇ-Sāttan of Nārāyaṇamaṇḡalam, Dāvāṇ-Sēmaṇ of Elumṇaiachchēri, Saṅkaraṇ-Suvanaṇ of Tāḷaimaṇ—these five persons shall pay the tax on this land; if they fail to do so, the lands shall be taken back from them forfeiting their expenditure. If there is default for one month consecutively, his (the donor's) descendants shall cultivate the lands and supply the ghee. This sacred lamp was (thus) given by Edirāṇ-Kaviraṇ of Kuṇṭtikāḍu. The 'three-hundred' of Nanṇuḷa-naḍu shall also supervise this supply (of ghee).

### No. 10—Fragmentary record of Indukodaivarman.

This inscription is engraved on the base of the *surru-maṇḍapa* of the same Viṣṇu temple at Tiruvannamḍūr. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and is so completely defaced that only a few syllables are legible here and there. The incomplete transcript is, however, given below, as the record is dated in the year opposite to the fifth year of the early king Kō-Indukōḍaivarman,<sup>5</sup> whose position

1 Compare the restriction,

விசமுட்டிக்கில் சென்ற செலவினோடு பாட்டம் விடக்கடவியர்

occurring in the Tirukkudittapam inscription, T. A. S., Vol. II, p. 36.

2 *ay* is engraved below the line.

3 The two *ṭ*'s are written below the line.

4 The missing syllables are clearly 'ரங்கவி' in this instance.

5 *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 162.



in the Chēra genealogy has been fixed before Bhaskara Ravivarman. The record further mentions, Kunnarap-Kunrappōlan, and the *munṇārṇṇavar* of Nanṇulai-nāḍu.

### Text.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 கொவிந்து கொதைவரம்மர்க்குச்செ . . . . . [ய்யா]மாண்டைக்  
கெதிராமாண்டு . . . . .  
2 நன் றுழநாட்டு முந்நாற்றுவரும் . . . . . சஞ் செந்தனு மங்கலத்து  
குமாரஞ்நற்பொழனு நன் றுழநாட்டு . யனும் இநால்வரும் . . .  
3 . . . . .  
ச்சு திருவெண்மன்றும் . . . . .

### No. 11—Peruneyil inscription of the 11th century A. D.

This inscription is engraved on the south base of the central shrine in the temple at Peruneyil which is a suburb of Chengamachery. It is in the Vatteluttu alphabet and the Tamil language. On palaeographical grounds the record may be assigned to about the end of the 10th or to the beginning of the 11th century A. D., as the characters are very much like those of the records of that period.

It registers a gift of some paddy and land by a certain Edirap-Kaviran of Jñāvarkkāḍu for feeding one thousand brahmans during the annual festival of the temple falling in the month of Kanni. It may be noted that in an epigraph from Tiruvavvayṇṇūr of about the same period as this, a certain Edirap-Kaviran of Kurattikkāḍu (Tiruvalla taluk) figures as a donor of a perpetual lamp to the Vishnu temple of that place and as the reading Jñāvarkkāḍu of the present record is not quite free from doubt, it is probable that the two individuals were identical.

The recipients of the gift were the members of the *tiruvālganam* and the *poṭṭuvāl* of Peruneydal. The defaulter was subject to the payment of a fine of 100 *kaḷañju* of gold to the *kōyiladhikāri* who belonged to the ministry (*amaichchūḷḷu-rutta?*), 50 *kaḷañju* to the ruler of the district and 12 *kaḷañju* to the immediate controlling authority, perhaps the village official. The *kōyiladhikāri* has here taken the place of *perumānāḍiḷaḷ* (king), to whom the first penalty was generally payable. *Tiruvālganam*<sup>1</sup> represents the body of men who looked after the festivals of the temple. *Gana* as a body corporate in religious institutions is well-known from ancient times when it wielded political power also.

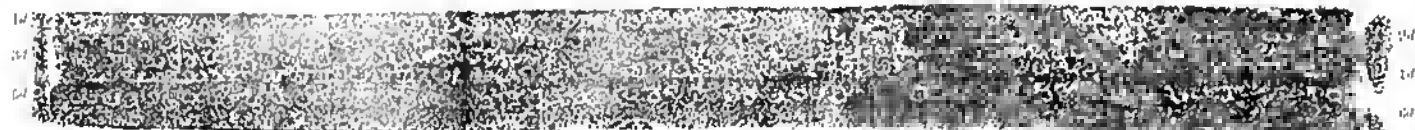
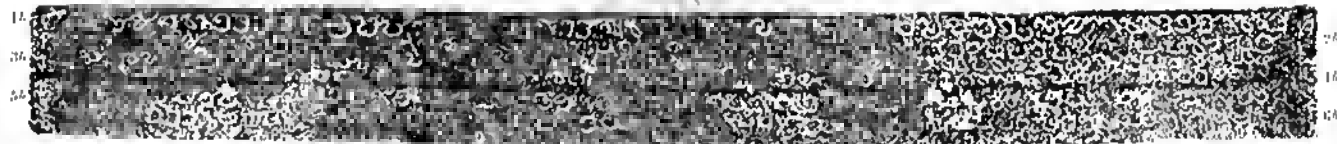
The contributions of coconuts, plantains etc. which the *viḷṇvāriyār* had to provide for the feeding during the annual festivals of the temple were the customary perquisites which they had to supply from the *pañchabhōgam*<sup>4</sup> or the five products of a typical West Coast garden, viz.,

1. Kombu-chakka, a jack for each tree,
2. Kula-tēngā, a bunch of coconuts,

1 Registered as No. 100 of the Trav. Epigr. Colln. for 1086 M. E.

2 The *utsava-saṅkatas* of the *Rāghavamā* and the *Mahabharata* appear to be similar corporate bodies and not tribes: शरैस्सवसकेतान् स कृत्वा विरतोत्सवान् and गणान् उत्सवसंकतान् अजयन् सप्त पाण्डवाः.

3 Trav. State Manual. Vol. III, p. 319.



Sendy Uussowynhi.

3. Kula-aḍakka, a bunch of arecanuts,
4. Kula-vālai, a bunch of plantains, and
5. Veṭṭu-ōla, share in the cocoanut leaves cut.

The *podurāl* had also to supply some vegetables on these occasions on behalf of the lands which they were enjoying as *virutti*-holdings. In lieu of this load of vegetables, its commuted value (*chumattu-paṇam*)<sup>1</sup> was sometimes payable by the tenants.

Text.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 ஸ்ரீஸ்ரீ [II\*] கன்னியில் கியாழந் நிற்[க\*] கன்னியினாயிற்று ஸ்ரீயிருண்ட அச்சுவதி நாள் பெருநெய்தல் முக்கால்வட்டத் திருநாள் திருநாள் கணத்தாந்ம் பொதுவாரும் அங்கொத[த\*] தால் கூடிச் செய்த கருமமாவது [II\*] இத் திருநாள் கணத்தார்க்கு ஸ்ரீவலக்காட்டு எதிரங்கவிரன் களத்தினாலொடியாகின்ற பூமி இருநாற்றுக் கலத்தின் மெலும் முஞ்ஞாட்டு [வ] டைப ஆசீச்சல் கொதைக்கு எதிரங்கவிரன் கொடுத்துடைய நெல் பதினாழிப்பறைபால் ஆயிரம் பறையும் விற்றிரட்டிச்ச [வண்ணம்] பதினாழிப்பறைபால் ஈராயிரம் பறையெல்லும் ஆட்டா.
- 2 ண்டும் கன்னியினாயிற்றுறும் திருநாள் கணத்தாருடைய திருவாராதனத்தில ஆயிரவர் பிராமணரை அமிர்து சையிப்பிதூகத் திருநாள் கணத்தாந்ம் பொதுவாள் சையி லட்டிக்[கொ]டுத்தான் எதிரங்கவிரன் [II\*] இத்திருவாராதனம் பத்தாநாளிலும் கன்னியினாயிற் தமரவச்சத்தில் பஞ்சமி துடங்கி நியதி தூறு தூறு மானிடத்தை அமிர்து சையிச்ச ஆருட்டக்கடவா ஆட்டாண்டும் வாரியரும் பொதுவாரும் எதிரங்கவிரனும் [II\*] இதர வழியால் [ஒரோத்தர்] ஒரோத்தர் இரட்டிபட்டை குலை<sup>3</sup> வாழைக்காயும் ஒரோ குலை<sup>3</sup> வாழைப்பழமும் . . . . .
- 3 முபது பத்து தெங்காயும் ஒரோத்தொருத்த ரிபட்டிரண்டு கறியும் இருநாழிச் சைய்துப்பும் இருபலஞ் சைய்துபுளியும் அஞ்ஞாழிச் சைய்து வயிரும் பதினாழிச் சைய்துமோரும் கொண்டு வந்து தத்தமக்கு பட்ட நாள் கொண்டு வந்து அகத்து பந்திரடியில் முன்னைய விழாவாரியரும் பொதுவாரொடு கூட அளவு கொடுத்தமிர்து சையிச்ச கடவர் [II\*] பொதுவா லிருநாறு புளிக்கறி கொண்டு வந்து கொடுக்க கடவன் [II\*] திரிஞ்ஞா பந்திரடியில் முன்னையமிர்து சையிச்ச விழாப்பலி புறப்படக்கடவர் வாரியரும் பொதுவாரும் [II\*] இ[ஐ]யும் வறகும் வந்திர விழாச்செய்யுமவகள் கொண்டு . . . . .
- 4 அடிக்க கடவர் [II\*] இப்பரிசெய் இத்திருவிழாவிந்து எதிரங்கவிர னமைச்சசெலவு அமைஞ்ஞவண்ணம் முட்டாதெ செலுத்தக் கடவர் திருநாள் கணத்தாந்ம் பொதுவாரும் [II\*] இப்பரி சொட்டினகாலத்து முட்டாதெ செலுத்தாதொழிவராகில் அமைச்சுள்ளு[றுத்த] கொயிலதிகாரிக்கு நூற்றுக்கழைஞ்ஞா நாவோழுமவர்க்கு அயம்பனை கழைஞ்ஞா வாழ்க்கைவாழுமவர்க்கு பந்திருகழைஞ்ஞா பொன் தண்ட[ப்]பட[க\*] கடவர் [II\*] இடையிடன் இச்செலவினு விரோதிக்கில் இத்தண்டம் பொ-

1 Trav. State Manual, Vol. III, p. 335.

2 Registered as No. 14 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 A. E. (Also No. 85 of 1086).

3 குலை looks like கரு.

[ன்\*] னும் பட்டு தவைக்கும் பந்திரு கழைஞ்ஞ பொன் தண்டம் வைச்சு  
காட்டப்பெறக்<sup>1</sup> கடவன் [II\*] திருநாள் கணத்தா.

- 5) னுடைய கரியில் புகு கிலக்குமவரும் பொருள் தவருமவரும் இ[த\*] தண்ட  
டம்படக்கடவியர் [II\*] இவ்மைஞ்ஞ கதிரும் முட்டி யூண்டொன்ற கு  
றையிலும் கொண்டுவாரா தொழிஞ்ஞ கணத்தான் இரண்டரைக் காணம்  
பொன் தண்டம் வைச்சு [க் கொண்டி] அடைக்காயமிது மிடக்கடவியன்  
[II\*] களத்தினுலொடி [நெல்லு] ஆதிச்சங்கொதை தந்து செல்லானுதில்  
<sup>3</sup>முழாவு திருநாள் கணத்தாரும் பொதுவானும் எதிரங்கவிரனும் கூடி-  
மறஞ்ஞ பூமி மெலிட்டு எதிரங்கவிரனைக்கொண்டு காராண்மை செய்யி-  
ச்சு ஆண்டாண்டும் எண்ணுழிப்பறையா விருதாறுபறை . . . . .
- 6) சி அரிகருதினா<sup>4</sup> கொடுக்ககடவன் [II\*] எதிரங்கவிரனும் தந்ததிரும் இப் பூமி  
காராண்மைச் செய்து நெல்லளப்பா னுற்றதொழிநில் கணத்தாரும் பொ-  
துவானும் தாங்களைய உழுது கொண்டு செலுத்தக்கடவா [II\*] எதிரங்கவி-  
ர[னும்] அவன் பெண்ணு பிள்ளையும் ருக்கக்கடவர் பொதுவானும் கண-  
த்தாரும் [II\*] எதிரங்கவிரனாக பெண்ணும் பிள்ளையும் தந்ததிற்கும்.  
[மு]டைய -

### Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! The following is the transaction made unanimously on the day of Aśvini which was a Sunday in the month of Kappi (of the year) in which Jupiter stood in Kanyā-rāśi when, in the temple at Peruneydal were assembled together the *tirunāḷyaṇattār* (i. e., the body of men managing the temple festivals) and the *poduvāl*. In order that one thousand Brāhmanas may be fed each year during the festivals conducted by the *tirunāḷyaṇattār* in the month of Kappi, Edirañ-Kaviraṇ of Jñāvalkāḍi gave with libation of water to this body of *tirunāḷyaṇam*, the land called Kaḷattimilōḍi with the sowing capacity of two-hundred *kalam* of seed, and two thousand *parai* of seed-paddy measured by the *parai* holding ten *nāḷi*, as doubled by sale from the quantity of one thousand *parai* of paddy measured by the *parai* of ten *nāḷi*, given by Edirañ-Kaviraṇ to Adicheṇ Kōḍai of Muṇṇi-nāḍi. Annually, the *vāriyar*, the *poduvāl* and Edirañ-Kaviraṇ shall feed daily one hundred men during the ten days of this festival commencing from the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kappi and have the *ārāḍu* (ceremony done). By a different arrangement have the *viḷā-vāriyar* each by himself, separately and individually, to bring on the days fixed for them, two bunches of unripe plantain, one bunch of plantain fruits, . . . . . ten cocoanuts, two kinds of vegetables, two *nāḷi* of puce salt, two *palam* of good tamarind, five *nāḷi* of good curds, ten *nāḷi* of good buttermilk, have them measured out to the *poduvāl* before the twelve-feet-time before noon, and have the feeding conducted. The *poduvāl* shall bring and give two hundred vegetables for frying (for the occasions). After the feeding is made, and before the twelve-feet-time afternoon, the bali-procession of the festival shall be started by the *vāriyar* and the *poduvāl*. Those who perform the Uttira-festival . . . shall supply leaves and fuel.

1 This may be also a mistake for காட்டம் பெறக்கடவன்; if it is காட்டக்கடவன், பெற is unnecessary.

2 Engraved above the line.

3 Read விழாவு.

4 This is not understood.

5 The name of the donor is repeated in the original.

Thus, the *tirunālgaṇattār* and the *poduvāl* shall expend according to the scale of expenses fixed by Edirañ-Kaviraṇ for this festival and without causing any default. If they fail to so expend without default and at the stated times, they shall be liable to pay a fine of one hundred *kaḷañju* of gold to the Kōyiladhikāri (in the presence) of the ministers, fifty *kaḷañju* (of gold) to the ruler of the district, and twelve *kaḷañju* to the *vāḷkkaivāḷumavaṇ* (immediate controlling authority). If the *iḍaiyīḍaṇ* (here refers to the cultivator) objects to the expenses, he shall, besides paying the above fixed fines, pay a fine of twelve *kaḷañju* of gold to the assembly, so as to be seen by others. Those who enter on the lands of the *tirunālgaṇattār* and eject (the tenants) and those who exact money from (them) shall be subject to these fines. If the stipulated vegetables fail and the feeding is diminished even by one, the *gaṇattār* who failed to bring the dues, shall pay a fine of two and a half *kāṇam* of gold together with (supplying) betel-leaves and nuts. If Ādiccheṇ-Kōḍai fail to give his dues on Kaḷattinālōḍi, the *tirunālgaṇattār* the *poduvāl* and Edirañ-Kaviraṇ shall conjointly invest (the capital) on some other land and, getting that land cultivated by Edirañ-Kaviraṇ, shall pay annually two hundred *paraḷ*, as measured by the *paraḷ* holding eight *nāḷi*, and . . . . . If Edirañ-Kaviraṇ and his successors become incapable of cultivating this land and measuring out the paddy, the *gaṇattār* and the *poduvāl* shall themselves take up the cultivation and supply (the paddy).

(In that case), the *gaṇattār* and the *poduvāl* shall protect Edirañ-Kaviraṇ and his male and female relations.<sup>2</sup> Edirañ-Kaviraṇ . . . belonging to his male and female relations. . . . .

## No. 12.— Peruneyil Inscription of Kulasekhara-Kōyiladhikāri.

This inscription is engraved on a slab set up on the west side of the central shrine in the temple at Peruneyil. It is in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet and the language is the western dialect of Tamil with a few peculiarities.

The record is dated in the 8th year opposite to the 2nd of the reign of Kulasekhara-Kōyiladhikāri but does not give the Kollam year, stating only that Jupiter was in the Karkāṭaka-rāśi. The inscription of the Kāmēśvara temple at Quilon dated in Kollam 278 and mentioning a Kōyiladhikāri Kulasekhara-Chakravartin cannot be far removed from this record in point of time.

It registers a royal order issued by Kulasekhara-Kōyiladhikāri who was staying at Nediyatali, granting an annual income of forty *kālam* along with *arandai* in favour of the temple of Peruneyil for the expenses of feeding some persons in the temple and for having the *Mahābhārata* expounded. The recipients of the grant were the members of the village assembly and the *poduvāl*. The grant was ratified at the command of the Kōyiladhikāri by the chieftains of the two villages of Kāpālīmaṅgalam and Muttūru, who promised not to collect the *arandai* thereafter.

1 *Adai* means 'leaf' and *kāy* areca-nut— 'செய்யிலைதலைதோர் சோழம் . . . . . ஸெய்யிலைதலைதோர்' — *Tiruppalluvu*, though *adaikkāy* now signifies only nuts.

2 The wording of this last portion is not quite free from doubt.

Two other place-names occur in the inscription, viz., Kāmakkanappalli<sup>1</sup> and Kadamba-nādu<sup>2</sup>. Of these Kāpalimaṅḡalam and Kāmakkanappalli appear in the Tiruvalla plates and Neḍiyatali<sup>3</sup> is mentioned in two records of Tirukkakkaraī. Muttūṟṟukūṟṟam figures in *Puram* 24 as being subject to the sway of one of the Vēḷir chiefs. A place named Muttūṟṟumūlai<sup>4</sup> is mentioned in the Tiruvalla plates. But this Muttūṟu<sup>5</sup> may possibly be Muttūṟu in the Tiruvalla taluk.

*Puḷi* or *Kuḍippaḍi* is the term which has been applied to the chieftains of Punnaittalappati<sup>6</sup> and Pūḷaiḱkuḍippati, mentioned in the Kottayam plates of Sthānu-Ravi. The term *āṭṭaikkol* means 'what is obtained during the year'. *Tirukkai-nayaiḱch-arūḷiyār* which literally means 'was pleased to wet the hands' is used to indicate that the gift was made 'with libation of water'. *Paḍiyuṟutti* (l. 55) literally 'impressed on the chiefs' means that the order was conveyed to the chiefs. The sparing use of the dialectic forms *olla* (l. 4) *arūḷiyār* (l. 23, 70, 71), and *va-  
nna* (l. 58) may be noted. The meaning of *arandan* is not clear, but it seems to signify some kind of tax in money or in kind payable to *dēśavāḷis*; its literary synonym is 'misery'.

## Text.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [H\*] இரா-
- 2 மாண்டைக்கெஞ் ச-  
3 டடாமாண்டு குலை-
- 4 செகர கொயிலதி-
- 5 காரிகள் திருவிரா-
- 6 ச்சியஞ் செல்லா-
- 7 னின்ற கர்க்கடகத்-
- 8 தில் வியாழத்தி-
- 9 ள் விரிச்சிக-
- 10 ஞாயிற்று நாறு
- 11 தனியையுந் திரு-
- 12 க்ஞன்றப்பொழை-
- 13 யுங் கூட்டி கொ-
- 14 ண்டு நெடியதனி
- 15 இருந்நருளி பெரு-
- 16 நெய்தல் ஆட்டைக்-
- 17 கொளால் நால்பு-
- 18 தின் கலந் நெல்-
- 19 லும் பெருநெய்த-
- 20 ல் அரந்தையும் அ-

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II. p. 154.

2 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 183.

3 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 47.

4 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 163.

5 *முத்துரிகுளத்தினியையுந் திரு-  
மணியு* உப விருவோத சுவை தாவுகோடிக் கவனக்—

*Uppunāḷisamāḡana*, v. 125.

6 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 82.

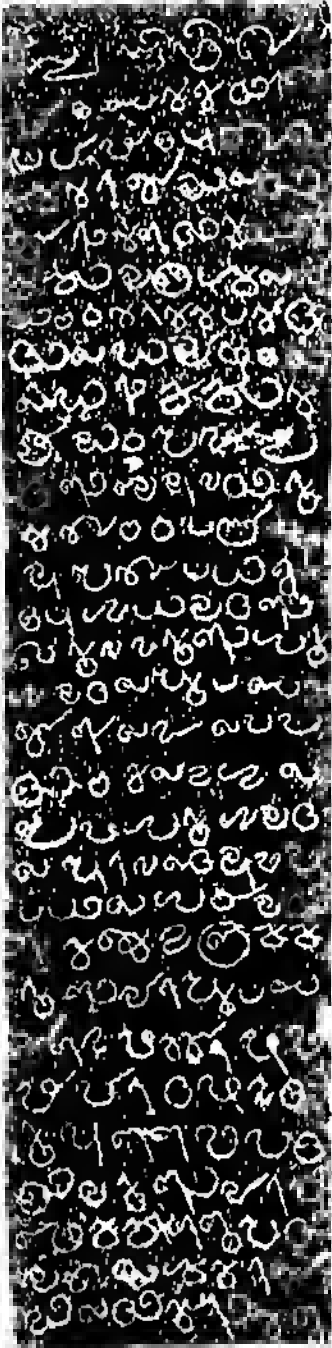
7 This is registered as No. 15 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 A. D. (Also No. 87 of 1086).

No. 12—RECORD OF KULASEKHARA-KOYILADHIKARI.

First side.


Second side.

1  
3  
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7  
9  
11  
13  
15  
17  
19  
21  
23  
25  
27  
29

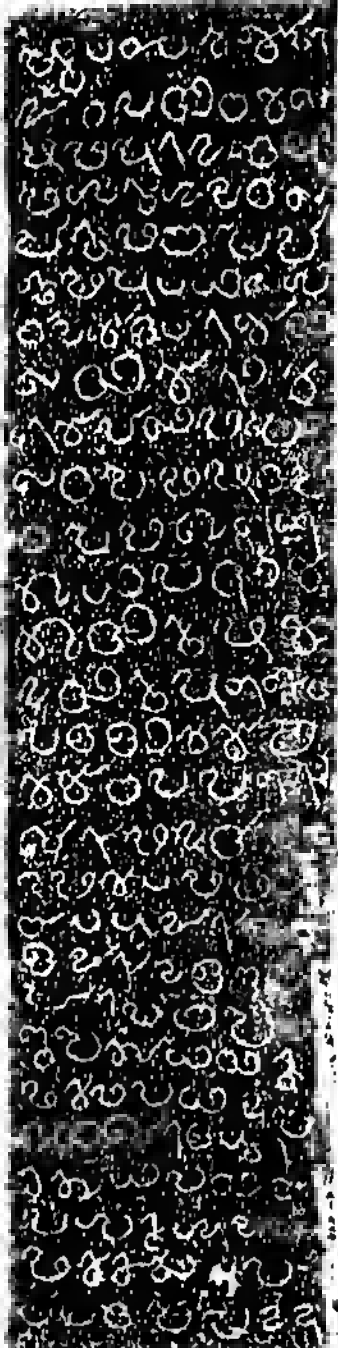


Third side.

59  
61  
63  
65  
67  
69  
71



31  
33  
35  
37  
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41  
43  
45  
47  
49  
51  
53  
55  
57



Scale: One-sevenths.

- 21 ட்டிபெருய் தி-  
22 ருகை நனைச்ச-  
23 குளியார் [i\*] ஆட்டைக்  
24 கொள் நமக்காரமும்  
25 மர்பாரதமுந் தி-  
26 ருவுள்ளம் பண-  
27 னியருளியார் அ-  
28 மைச்சுள்ளு பதி-  
29 ய குலைசெகரகொ  
30 யிலதிகாரிகள் [ii\*]

*Second face.*

- 31 ஆட்டைக்கொள்  
32 நாற்பதின் கல-  
33 மும் அரந்தையு-  
34 ம் பெருநெய்தல்  
35 ணரும் பொதுவா-  
36 னும் அட்டிபெ-  
37 ருய் கொண்டார் [ii\*] கொடி-  
38 லதிகாரிக-  
39 ள் காபாலிமங்க-  
40 லத்தும் முத்தூ-  
41 ற்றும் ஒள்ள  
42 குடிபதிக-  
43 கு திருமுக-  
44 ந் திருவுள்ளம்  
45 பண்ணிக்<sup>2</sup> காம-  
46 க்காணப்பள்ளி  
47 இராமந் தாய-  
48 னும் கடம்மன்  
49 னாட்டு நாராய-  
50 ண நாராயணனும்  
51 ணர்ப்பொதுவா-  
52 னுந் கூடி திரு-  
53 [மு]கம் பதியுறு-  
54 த்தி [i\*] இரண்டு-  
55 [க்] குடிபதியு-  
56 ம் பெருநெய்தல்  
57 [மு]க்கால்வ-  
58 ட்டத்து வந்து

*Third face.*

- 59 கூடி அ-  
60 ரந்தை<sup>3</sup> அ-

1 அமைச்சுன்னு [i\*] திப seems to be a better reading. Compare also அமைச்சுன்னுத்த கோயில திகாரிகளுக்கு (T. A. S. II, p. 44) and அமைச்சுன்னுத்த கோயிலதிகாரிக்கு (T. A. S. V, p. 35)

2 Read பண்ணக்.

3 The word *arandai* has been used in the sense of 'misery' in *Silappadigaram*.

அரந்தை கெடுத்து வந்திருப்பவனை ஆடித்திங்கள் கவையிலுங்கோர் — *Uraippukattai*, vol. 3.



- 61 டிக்கும-<sup>1</sup>  
 62 தொழிஞ்-  
 63 ஞெளமென்-  
 64 டு கல் 61-  
 65 முதி நா-  
 66 டி.க. கொ  
 67 நத்தார்  
 68 திருவுள்-  
 69 ளம் பண்-  
 70 ணியருளி-  
 71 ய மார்-  
 72 க்குமெ [11\*]

### Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the eighth year current opposite to the second year of the prosperous reign of Kulaśekhara-Kōyilādhikāriḡaḡ, when Jupiter was in Karkātaka and in the month of Vriśchika, Kulaśekhara-Kōyilādhikāri, who having taken the four *talis*<sup>2</sup> and Tirukkunṛappōlai (with him), was pleased to be present in Neḡiyatāḡi, and was pleased to grant, after informing the ministry, as an *aṡṡippēru* with libation of water, the forty *kalam* of paddy accruing annually from Peruneydal along with the *arandai* of Peruneydal. He was pleased to order the feeding (of persons) and (the reading of) the Mahābhārata from (this) annual income. (The members of the assembly of) the village of Peruneydal and the *poduvāḡ* received as *aṡṡippēru* the annual income of forty *kalam* and *arandai*. Kōyilādhikāriḡaḡ issued a royal order to the chieftains of the inhabitants of Kāpālinṛḡaḡalam and Mutṡūru; Rāman-Tāyaḡ of Kāmakkaḡappalli and Nārāyaḡaḡ-Nārāyaḡaḡ of Kadamba-nāḡu as well as the *ṛr-poduvāḡ* conjointly informed the chieftains of (this) royal order: the chieftains of the inhabitants of these two villages came to the temple of Peruneydal and caused the fact that they, as stated in the royal order, shall refrain from obtaining the *arandai*, to be engraved on stone and had it set up.

### No. 13.—Quilon inscription of Kollam 278.

This record is engraved on a pillar set up in the compound of the Rāmēśvaraśvāmin temple at Quilon. It is very much weather-worn and the inscription which is so illegible in many places as to render it difficult to trace its proper continuity as a whole, is given below in its incomplete state. Fortunately, however, the introductory portion which contains the main interesting details of the record is clear enough.

In the *Annual Report* for 1095 M. K., Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar has made the following note on this inscription:—

'No. 54 of Appendix B comes from the Rāmēśvara temple at Quilon. It is dated in the month of Śirṡha of the Kollam year 278 (A. D. 1103) and in the

1 டிக்கும in the sense of 'collecting' is rather rare. *Aḡukkuvaḡu* is a fee due to the Sirkar payable by a successor to property or tenure (*State Manual*). It also signifies the right retained by the proprietor from the purchaser.'

2 This has been explained on page 43 *infra*.

3 Logau defines *pāḡi* as an intermediary between the *kōḡ* and the actual landholder.

2nd + 14th year of the king's reign, when Jupiter was in the sign Virgo. This yields A. D. 1087 for the accession of the king. That portion of the record which contains the name of the king is much damaged; but it can be tentatively read as Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi. The Kōyiladhikāri i. e., the officer in charge of the king's palace who must have been a near relation of his, probably the senior prince, while staying in the palace at Paṇaiṅgāvu in Kurukkēni-Kollam (i. e., Quilon) ordered certain grants of lands to be made to the temple of Rāmēchchuram, as an atonement for the enmity incurred with the Āryas. It is not quite clear who are meant by the term Āryas. Perhaps, there is here a reference to the Tamil followers of the Chālukya-Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I, who, at this time, invaded the south-western portion of the Peninsula (*South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. I, p. 144.) subdued the five Pāndyas, burnt the fort of Kōḷṭaru and crushed the army of the Kēraḷas (*S. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 168). Since Quilon was an important place in the dominion of the Vēpaḍu kings from the earliest times, it may not be unreasonable to take the Rāma-Tiruvaḍi of this record as one of its rulers, though the possibility of his being a member of the Chēra line is not precluded. And the temple of Rāmēchchuram might have been named after him. But if it were still earlier, it should have been founded by the Vēpaḍu king Rāma-Tiruvaḍi who figures in the Kottayam grant of Sthānu-Ravi of the ninth century A. D.

Two other records belonging to a king called Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhikāraḷ and Kulaśekhara-Perunāl respectively have been copied at Peruneyil<sup>1</sup> and Tiruvālūr<sup>2</sup> and they have been published *ante*. The former is dated in the 8th year opposite to the 2nd year when the position of Jupiter was in the Karkātaka-rāśi, while the latter was issued in the year opposite to the same 2nd year when Jupiter stood in Makara. As the Quilon record also bears some illegible date (உத . . . மர சாலை) opposite to the same 2nd year, and as the script of the three different epigraphs is of about the same period, there is nothing improbable in identifying the three kings with one another. The planet Jupiter which was in the Makararāśi in the 2nd + 1st year (expired?) was correctly in Karkātaka six years later in the 2nd + 8th year; and as it had travelled on to Kanni by the time of the Quilon inscription, the date of that record can be only 2 years later than that of the Peruneyil epigraph, and its illegible date portion can therefore be calculated as 2nd + 11th year and not 2nd + 14th year, when Jupiter will have journeyed a few more houses farther off than Kanni.

It has to be noticed that while the records of Peruneyil and Tiruvālūr are expressly dated in the distinctive reign of Kulaśekhara, the Quilon epigraph introduces a Śrī Kulaśekhara-chakravartin who was the Kōyiladhikāri of [Rāma]-Tiruvaḍi<sup>3</sup>. The title of 'Chakravartin' given to the former coupled with the fact that the other two records mention him as the reigning king (*tiruvirāḷyam chella-niṇṇa*) seems, however, to point to the possibility that 'Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi' to whom Kulaśekhara was the Kōyiladhikāri may refer to the god<sup>4</sup> at Quilon. A better interpretation is possible of considering Rāma-Tiruvaḍi-Kōyiladhikāraḷ as the name of the

1. vide page 38 *supra*.

2. *Proc. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. IV, p. 145.

3. Another reading also seems possible—உதயபதி பஞ்சபதி, who may have been an earlier namesake of Virarājavarmān of A. C. 1645. (*Cochin Manual*, p. 80)

4. *Tiruvālūr* is a title applied to gods, kings, queens and saints, of Tirumandikkarai-Bhaṭṭaraka-Tiruvaḍi.

king and Kulaśekhara-chakravartiga] as an *alias* (*āyina*) or his regal title. If however, Rāma-Tiruvāḍi was the king and Kulaśekhara, his *Kōyiladhikāri*, then who have to consider that both of them attained to their respective positions in the same year and that the latter while referring himself to the regnal year of his suzerain in the territory of Quilon, has styled himself as regular king in the more northern territory. Future discoveries can alone decide this point one way or the other; but it looks more probable that Kulaśekhara of these records was a Chēra king and that Quilon was his southern outpost where he had encamped for some time in the palace at Pappāṅgāvu<sup>1</sup> at the time of the present record. The record further on states that there was a subordinate chief Vikkiramaz, who was administering the Quilon territory (*l.* 47-8), but unfortunately that particular portion is too damaged to furnish any clear information. It may be noted that the Cochīn Rājas still style themselves as *Kōyiladhikāri*ga] in documents relating to the landed property of temples,<sup>2</sup> their usual title being 'Perumbadappu Gangādharma Virakēra]a Tirukkōyiladhikāri]ga].'<sup>3</sup>

As regards the enmity with the Āryas for which the expiatory donation of offering worship in the Rāmaśvaram temple at Quilon was instituted by the king, it is not definitely known if the sin referred to was that of fighting with the invading forces of the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I. As a Kshatriya, his *dharma* lay in fighting against his enemies and it could not have been a sin to be atoned for. No doubt Bāhamārttāṇḍavarman, the Conqueror, organised the Mumajupam and other ceremonies to wash off the sins of his 'wars of aggression', but here it was only one of defence. The term 'Āryas' may have probably been used to refer to brahmans or to *tuvaḷyāriyār* of other records, some of whom the king may have molested and maltreated either justly or wantonly, and that as an act of expiation for his outrage on members of the highest caste (the *bhāsurās*) connected with the temple management, he may have bestowed some gifts to the temple. The fact that 'Ārya-brāhmanas' (*ll.* 33-4) are stated to have mustered strong in the temple along with other State officers on the occasion of this gift, seems to favour this view. There have been many instances in which delinquent chiefs or kings either voluntarily or under the moral stress of public opinion as voiced by the religious corporations called *yōgams*, made ample amends for their acts of petty tyranny and coercion. Notable among these are the following cases recorded in the temple chronicles of Trivandrum, which bear a resemblance to the present incident:

(i) Vīra-Kēra]avarman Tiruvāḍi<sup>4</sup> paid some land compensation to the survivors of certain Deśika] (brahman immigrants) whom he had murdered at Nilaimalkunnu and also made a gift of 157 *kōttas* of land and 30,000 *panam* to the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandrum for assaulting some temple servants;

1. This palace also occurs in the Manjallī plate of Vallabharāṅgōḍai (A. D. 974) - *T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 9. *Upaniṣadāṣam* (c. 1350) has in verse 74:

തേരേചിരേണ പ്രിയസഖ പനങ്ങാവതത്തന്നകംപു.

അവരും കണ്ടങ്ങവിടെയുണ്ടെന്നു കണ്ടെന്തിടം തടം.

2. *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 117.

3. *Cochin State Manual*, p. 39.

4. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. II, p. 264.

5. Computer கணினியின் தனிப்படுத்த இராமம்—*Erig. Ind.* IV-295.

Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhikāri was at the time seated in the Nediyatali hall (at his capital?) surrounded by (the presidents of) all the four assemblies and (the president of) the Tirukkunnappula-(sanketam) or the Edappalli chief (?) and issued an order making certain gifts in favour of the Peruneyil temple. This order was conveyed to the chief residents (*kudipati*) of two villages of Kāpālimāṅgalam and Mutṭaru by Kāmakkānappalli Rāman-Tāyaṇ and Nārāyaṇaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kaḍamba-nāḍu. It may be noted that the *tuḷiyāḍiris* of the Nediyatali were selected from Iṇaḍurutti and Kaḍamba-nāḍu. Tirukkunnappula seems to be identical with the village of the same name belonging to the Edappalli chief near Karttignippalli in the Quilon Division. There is also another Iṇagunnappula<sup>2</sup> in the island of Vaipin, the famous Subrahmanya temple of which was, before its absorption by the Cochin State, under the management of the Raja of Paravūr and an influential *yōgam* wielding high sacerdotal power.

It is not apparent why the royal writ relating to the Peruneyil temple should have been issued from the Nediyatali Assembly Hall instead of from the Mēṇṇali belonging to Muḷikkalam (Mushikakkalam), which may be expected to have exercised its jurisdiction over Peruneyil, on account of its greater proximity, as it has done on such temples as Tiruvuvandūr, Tirukkākkarai and Tirunelli. Nediyatali and Mēṇṇali<sup>3</sup> occurring in the records of Tirukkākkarai may perhaps have to be taken to refer to these assemblies rather than to any specific villages.

## Text.

1	வல்லி ஸ்ரீ [1*]	18	ரக்கெணிக் கொல்ல-
2	கொல்லந்தொ-	19	த்து பணங்காவி-
3	ன்றி யிருநூ-	20	ன் கொயிலகத்தி-
4	ற்றெழுபத்-	21	ருந்ருள ஆரிய-
5	தெட்டாமாண்-	22	ரொடு வந்த விரோத-
6	டைக் கன்னியி-	23	த்தினு ப்ராயச்சித்-
7	ல் விபரதம் புக்-	24	த்தத்தினு புத்தன் அ-
8	க [சிறுங் குா] யிது-	25	றையால் பதினாழி-
9	ஒன்பது சென்-	26	க்கொள்ளும் பறையா-
10	ற நான் இரண்டா-	27	ல் நியதம் ஒருப-
11	மாண்டைக் கெதி-	28	றைச் செய்து நெல்
12	ர் பதி [நொரா] மாண்டை-		Second face.
13	[ய் இ] ராமர் <sup>5</sup> திருவ-	29	இராமெச்-
14	டி கொயிலகதா-	30	சுவரத்து
15	நிகளாயின ஸ்ரீகு-	31	.....
16	லசெகரச் சக்கி-	32	.....
17	சுவர்த்திகள் கு-	33	... ஆரி-

1 Trav. State Manual, Vol. III, p. 598.

2 Cochin Manual, p. 373.

3 Trav. Archl. Series, Vol. III, p. 172, 167.

4 Registered as No. 54 of the Trav. Epig. Collns. for 1095 M. E. (Also No. 53 of 1084).

5. Another reading கொளாயர் seems possible. Compare also:

அஹஸ்தாங்கம் விநாயகமேஸ்வரம் நாயகமேஸ்வரம்

கௌண்டாநிசம் மலிகமலிவாயிரகௌண்டாநிசம், — *Upaniṣadsam*, v. 116.

but this person was nearly two centuries later.

34 ய ஸ்ரீமண.  
35 ருங் கூடி-  
36 யிருந்நட-  
37 த் து . . பக்க-  
38 ல் . . . .  
39 யக்கங் கை-  
40 யில்த் தி-  
41 ருக்கை ந-  
42 னைச்சருள  
43 நான்கு த-  
44 ளியு மா-  
45 யி[ரம் ஆ]-  
46 றுநாற் று-  
47 வரும் [இன்]-  
48 னு வாழ்க்-  
49 கையான் வித்-  
50 கிரமனா  
51 . . . . .  
52 க்கன் முத-  
53 லாயுள்ள  
54 சாமந்தரு-  
55 ந் திருக்கை-  
56 க்கிழக் கூ-  
57 டியிருக்க-  
58 த் திருக்கை  
59 நனைச்ச[ரு]-  
60 ளியாவிது [1\*]  
61 அச்செரி-  
62 க்கல் காரா-  
63 ண்மை செ-  
64 த வெனாட்-  
65 டு குமா-  
66 னுதையவ-  
67 ரம்மன்

Third face.

68 இ . . . . .  
69 . . . . .  
70 ஐந்நாழி கொண்டு  
71 மிடங்கழியால் முப்-  
72 பத்தாகல நெல் வி-  
73 ராமெசுரத்து மண்ட-  
74 பத்தில் [கூட்டங்]-  
75 கூடி யிருந்தில்  
76 இ[வ்வாண்டு] முதல்  
77 திரு . . . . வைக்கு-  
78 ம் திருக்கத்துங்  
79 கூடிச் செ[வ்வது] [1\*]

80 கிற்றடிச்சுவரத்-  
81 து மெலொடித்தி . .  
82 . லு செந்நெல் மு-  
83 ப்பத்தறு கலம்-  
84 . . . . லிப்படி.  
85 பதினெண்க் கல-  
86 ம் நெல்லால் செ-  
87 லவிடுவிது [1\*] வைச்ச  
88 நெல் பதினெண்கல-  
89 த்தால் தொள்ளாயிர-  
90 நாழி பலாக்காட்டு க-  
91 ண்ணந்தெவன் செல-  
92 விடுவிது [1\*] தொள்ளா-  
93 யிரநாழி மெல் இவ்-  
94 லூர் (லூர்) சத்திரம-  
95 ன் செலவிடுவிது [1\*]  
96 செலவு முட்டிகின்றெ  
97 . . . . மயாலஞ்ஞா-  
98 ழி ஆரி தண்டபட்டு  
99 செலவிடுவிது [1\*] காராள-  
100 ர் முவருந் கூடி செரிக்-  
101 கல் . . காராளரும் திரு-  
102 க்குணவாததெவர் திருந-  
103 டையில் கொண்டு அந்நாழி-  
104 க்கு ஓக்கு மிட[ங்]\*கழி  
105 நாநாற்று நாழி நெலாட்-  
106 டை காராளரு செரிக்கல் கொ-  
107 டுப்பது [1\*] யிவண்ண[ம\*]மை. x  
108 ச்சமைக்கு . . . கு-  
109 ணவாயிரனும் யிக்கடை

Fourth face.

110 கடமையா-  
111 ல் . . . .  
112 த்ன் றும -  
113 திச்சு ஒ-  
114 க்கு . . .  
115 -ன றுநாழி  
116 உரியால்  
117 . . . .  
118 யிருநாழி  
119 . அக்கிரம்  
120 பதினாழி  
121 இப்பெருமா-  
122 ள் நடை சில-  
123 கிற்றகு அவ-  
124 றிற்றகு நா-  
125 முரி கிற்ற-

126	டிச்சுரத்து	139	. . . .
127	மொலொடி-க்-	140	. . . .
128	கு நாழி	141	மிசாநங்-
129	. . கொட்டு-	142	கையாடியார்
130	து . க . ன்	143	ஆறிக்கு . .
131	ற மங்க-	144	ச்செழுத்து [I*]
132	லத் திரவி	145	அறைஞர் ஆசா-
133	யிராயரன் <sup>1</sup>	146	நிகையெழுத
134	கையெழுத்து [I*]	147	து [I*] திருப்பெ-
135	. . ன . .	148	ஞர் மறைக்-
136	ல	149	க . . கண்டாச்ச-
137	க்களுங்	150	ன் கையெ-
138	யும் . .	151	முத்து ஸ்ரீ [II*]

### No. 14—Quilon record of Kollam 513.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Rāmesvarasvāmin temple at Quilon. It is in the Tamil language and in the same alphabet of a period somewhat later than Kollam 513 (A. D. 1357-8), in which the record is dated. It states that certain gardens belonging to the temple were redeemed by the temple trustees from the money given by Sāttan Marudappillai of Kāyalil and that the trustees agreed to utilise the income from these gardens towards the expenses of providing certain offerings to the god and for lighting a perpetual lamp in the temple on behalf of the donor of the amount.

#### Text.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 சிறி கொல்லம் ஞாயிந் நாயினர் திருவிசுவநாதையனார் [I\*] தெவ-  
தானம் பண்டாரத்தார் தகைவரய் கிடந்து விடிவித்துக் கொண்ட வ-
- 2 யிராவணர் தொட்டம்(ம்) அறைக்கல் புரையிடம் வயலிற்புரையிடம் ஆக  
மூன்று புரையிடத்துக்கும் எல்லையாவது [I\*] கிழெல்லை முனைங்கட-
- 3 வத்துக்குப் பொது வழிக்கு மெற்கு தென்னெல்லை சிறைக்கு வடக்கு வ-  
மெலெல்லை வளத்தையார் குடியிருப்புக்கு கிழக்கு வடவெல்லை
- 4 மருமாண்டிக்கு பொருக<sup>3</sup> நாராயப்பெருவழிக்கு தெற்கும் ஆக இந்த நா-  
ங்கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட நிலத்துக்கு காயலில் சாத்தன் மருதப்பிள்ளை
- 5 கொண்டு பண்ட [I\*] ரத்தார் சாதனவாங்கி பலஇறைகளு மாற்றி இவர்  
பக்கல் அச்ச பற்றி குடுத்து இறங்கல் மிக்கையில் இவற்கு ஆக இந்-  
நாழி அரி-
- 6 சி அமுது படியும் ஒரு திருவிளக்கும் இவ்வொமாகவும் [II\*] உருபிடத்தில்  
மெல்படை நாலும் காயலில்<sup>4</sup> சாத்தன் நாயினர் [மு]ம்மகால் [II\*]

1 See foot note 5 on page 44 above.

2 Registered as No. 54 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

3 Read பொது.

Translation.

The auspicious Kollam (year) 513.

The boundaries of the three plots (called) Vayirāvaṇa-tōṭṭam, Arakkal-puraiyidam, and Vayalir-puraiyidam which were redeemed by the temple trustees are the following:—

the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the path leading to Mupaiṅgaḍavam, the southern boundary (is) to the north of the tank, the western boundary (is) to the east of the habitation of the *vāṭṭaḍaiyar*, and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the big lane leading to Marudāṇḍi.

For the lands lying between these four boundaries, the trustees took money from Śāṭṭaṇ Marudapillai of Kāyalil, executed the document, exempted the plots from taxes, redeemed them from *iraṅgaḷ* and agreed to give on his behalf two measures of rice to the temple for offerings and to light a sacred lamp in it.

The four upper courses in the *urupīṭṭam* are by Śāṭṭaṇ Nayanār Mummaṇ of Kāyalil.

No. 15.—Quilon inscription of Kollam 516.

This record is engraved on the lintel of the stone doorway in front of the Rāmēśvarasvāmin temple at Quilon. It is in Tamil and is dated in Kollam 516, three years later than the one published above. It states that the door-frame and steps of the gateway (in stone) were the gift of Mayilāṇ Tiruvōṭṭajāmam-aḷagiyār, the headman of Nāvalūr in Aṅgaimaṅgalam *alias* Vīrapāṇḍya-maṅgai-mānagaram, in Kuḍai-nāḍu.

Kuḍai-nāḍu is perhaps identical with Kuḍa-nāḍu of literature, which is mentioned as one of the twelve divisions where vulgar Tamil (*koḍuntamiḷ*) was spoken as opposed to the purer variety (*śendamiḷ*) which was current in and around Madurai, the seat of the Tamil Academy. The modern equivalent of Kuḍa-nāḍu is the northern portion of Malabar comprising Coorg etc. The name of the donor is somewhat peculiar and was perhaps coined from the name of god Śiva 'who was beautiful at the time of the midnight worship'. *Kiḷavaṇ* means 'the headman of the village (*urimai-yuḍaiyavaṇ*)', the suffix *kiḷamai* in the week-days also signifying that the particular planets were the lords of those days which went by their respective names.

Text.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [1\*] கொல்லம் குளம் மாண்டு சித்திரைமாதம் இத்திருவா தில் திருநீ-
- 2 கைராலும் படியும் குடைநாட்டு<sup>2</sup> அங்கைமங்கலமான கிரபாண்டியன் ம-  
[ங்]கை

1 தென்பாண்டி குட்டங் குடங் சந்தா வேண் பூழி சேதம் மலாடு புனாடு செந்தமிழ் சே  
பத்தி யருவா வதன் வடக்கு— நன்றாய் சேதமில் பன்னிருநாட் டென்.

2 In a Chulapuram record of Kollam 519, occurs the following:  
ஸ்ரீபாண்டிமண்டலத்து குடைநாட்டு அங்கைமங்கலமான மதுரைதையப்பெருந்தேரு.



- 3 மானகரத்து நாவலார் இழவன் மயிலன் திருவொத்தசாமமழகியார்  
4 செய்தத் திருப்பணி உ முஹமது உ

### Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Chittirai in the Kollam year 516, the door-jambs and steps of this gateway are the charitable work of Mayilan Tiruvōttajāmam-aḷagiyār, the headman of Nāvalār in Aṅgaimaṅgalam *alias* Virapāṇḍiyamaṅgai-māṇagaram, 'in Kudai-naḍu.

### Tiruvellunnannur Records.

The Trivandrum Museum contains a set of copper plates, the thirty-eight leaves, of which are beaten thin like olai leaves and are strung together through two holes and are kept between two thicker metal plates, looking quite like an ordinary cadjan manuscript bundle. The records incised on these thin leaves relate to the accounts of the temple of Tiruvellunnannūr and range in date from the year Kollam 600 to Kollam 900. It looks as if they were engraved on copper from older *olai* documents without any arrangement in chronological sequence, the only object that was presumably aimed at being an attempt to ensure greater permanency to the temple transactions. The language and script of the records is Malayalam, as may naturally be expected in regard to documents that were consolidated only a couple of centuries ago during the tenure of office of a certain Kappan-Kappan of Maṇṇūr as the *poduvāl* of the temple assembly, the only noteworthy point being the use of declensional endings such as *ān*, *ār* in some cases like *koḍuttān* and *koḍuttār*, unlike modern Malayalam, which completely discards them.

Of the many separate transactions that have thus been brought together and which number more than fifty, only half a dozen are of some slight importance as they mention two royal names, *viz.* Vīra Kōḍaivarman of the Ḥaiyidattu-svarūpan who figures in two of the records, while two other documents mention a Vīrakēraḷa-Rāmayarman of Kīḷappērūr. The Ḥaiyidattu-svarūpan was the name of one among those small chieftaincies called Vaḍakkunkūru, Tekkunkūru, Paṇḍalam, Ḥaiyaḍam, Quilon, Ambalapūḷa, Eḍappalli etc. which flourished in detached independent units all over Vēṇāḍu until the time of the Travancore king Mārtaṇḍavarman, the Great (Kollam 904-933), who by dint of his successful wars and diplomacy either conquered these principalities or managed to annex them to his dominions and thus consolidated the Travancore State to its present proportions. Before the annexation of their territory to Travancore in Kollam 916, the Ḥaiyaḍam family held sway over the tract represented by the modern taluks of Śheṇṇōṭṭu, Valliyūr, Kōttarakara, Pattanāpuram and Nedumaṅgaḍ;<sup>1</sup> and Vīra-Kōḍaivarman of the Tiruvellunnannūr records must have been a Kōttarakara chief who reigned at least from Kollam 711 to 715. The two records attributed to his reign

1 Trav. State Manual, Vol. 1, p. 340.1.

state that his subordinates (*tiruvāḍikkamaṇḍa-kōyilkanmi*) gave some lands for the conduct of the morning service (*ushahpājā*) and for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōraṇam*) in the temple of Eṇḍalaiyappaṇ at Tiruvelannannūr.

The other two records referring themselves to the reign of a king called Vīrakēraja-Rāma-varman of Kīlappērūr are dated in the Kollam years 663 and 793 respectively, and it therefore leads to the presumption that as these records are separated by an interval of 130 years, the kings figuring in them, though of the same name, may be two different individuals. But from the fact that the day and month of both these documents is the same (Kumbham 8) and also because one of them containing the date 663 is somewhat peculiarly worded without a specific prefixion of the Kollam era, viz.,

‘திருவெண்ணாநூர் உத்தரகற்குள் றுமுறையு மானது கும்பமாசையு வு உபசர  
மாட’

it appears probable that the year 663, if it is not a scribe's mistake for 793 of the other record, may refer to the number of years that had elapsed since the Tiruvelannannūr temple was constructed; and if the temple may be presumed to have come into existence in about Kollam 130, 663 years after its erection would coincide with Kollam 793, the year quoted in the other record, and both the records would then belong to the time of the same Vīrakēraja-Rāma-varman. That this practice was not uncommon of dating temple records from the date of construction of those particular temples which inaugurated a local era, may be seen from other instances in the cases of the ‘Tirukkandiyūr, Tirukkākkarni and Tirukkulaśēkharapuram temples. It may however be noted that no other document in this set of copper-plates relating to the Tiruvelannannūr temple is similarly dated.

Taking then Kollam 793 as the date of the two records, it is found that no Vāṇādū king called Vīra-Kēraja Rāma-varman is known to have lived at about this time. Vīrakēraja Rāma-varman will ordinarily signify king Rāma-varman, the nephew of a predecessor called Vīra-Kēraja-varman; and so far as we know at present, Vīra-Kēraja-varman was followed by a king named Rāma-varman in the following instances only:—

- (i) ‘Vīra-Kēraja Mārttāṇḍavarman of Kollam 610 was succeeded by a Rāma Mārttāṇḍavarman whose record is dated in Kollam 614,
- (ii) ‘Vengumankonḍa Bhūtalavīra Vīra-Kēraja-varman of Kollam 720 had a contemporary or successor called Vengumankonḍa Bhūtalavīra Rāma-varman in about Kollam 722.
- (iii) ‘Uṇṇi Kēraja-varman (Kollam 893-99) was followed by his brother Rāma-varman (Kollam 899-903)

but none of these periods corresponds with either Kollam 663 or 793 of the two records noted above.

From the fact that the Tiruvelannannūr set does not mention any Vāṇādū kings but only a Vīra-Kōḍaivarman of the Ilayaḍattu-svarūpam, it is not improbable that, if the date in the record is assumed to have been correctly given as

1 *T'rav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 78.

2 *T'rav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 266 and No. 1, of 1084.

3 *Ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 104.

4 *T'rav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 327.

Kollam 793, the Vīra-Kēraḷa Rāmavarman of these records also may have been a local chieftain and not a Vēṇāḍu king, even though his name was connected with the house of Kīḷappērār and has not been specifically mentioned with other distinguishing epithets.

Some of the records included in the bundle give the names of the following varieties of documents:—

1. karpūravila-ōla,
2. tōraṇa-taragu-vila-ōla,
3. dāna-ōla,
4. paḍukala-ōla,
5. naḍamāḍu-paḍukala-ōla,
6. prāśchitta-ōla,
7. orri-ōla,
8. nēorri-ōla,
9. amiśavila-ōla,
10. kaḍavāyppa-ōla or muri,

whose names are derivable from the special nature of or purposes for which those transactions were made. The records now published belong to the first two classes.

*Karpūra-vila-ōla* is a document relating to *karpūravila* or price of camphor; but it is not definite if this income represented any seigniorage on the sale or export and import of camphor. It occurs in the nature of a tax in an inscription<sup>1</sup> of Rājarāja I at Pañchapāṇḍavamalai: 'കർപ്പൂരവിളയും . . . . . മുഴിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞു . . . . . അന്നുതന്നെ . . . . .'. It is understood from a Kākatīya record<sup>2</sup> found at Mōṭṭuppalī in the Guntur district, that camphor, both country-made and imported from foreign countries (like China), was treated as dutiable commodity and that a tax of 15/16 *panam* was levied on a pagoda's worth of that article in the time of Gaṇapatiḍēva in the 13th century. In the present case, it appears possible that some provision was made in the shape of lands to meet the expenses of supplying camphor for the daily temple worship and that the lessees of the particular lands set apart for this item of supply bound themselves to measure out the stipulated quantity of paddy as *karpuravila-nellu* for the purchase and supply of the indispensable camphor to the temples. The following extract from a record belonging to the same temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr will make this clear:

നല്ലിപ്പറമ്പിൽ ഇന്നാർപേരിൽനിന്നു നല്ലിപറമ്പിൽ തേചത്തിന്നു കപ്പുരവില കല്ലിച്ചു ചെമ്പുകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവേണ്ടും കപ്പുരവില നല്ലു ൫ ൭ ചൈതാക' and  
കണ്ണങ്ങോട്ടു തേചത്തിന്നു വാളെങ്കോട്ടു ഇന്നാർപേരിൽനിന്നു കപ്പുരവില കല്ലിച്ചു ആണ്ടുവരവും ചെമ്പുകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവേണ്ടും കപ്പുരവില നല്ലു ൫ ൭ ചൈതാക'

These documents are classified as *Karpūravila* in the margin of the copper leaves.

1. *Epig. Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 138.

2. *Ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 197, 'കർപ്പൂരമുതൽ ചീനകർപ്പൂരമുതൽ മുഖാലകു വേല ൩ ൧ കി ൧ ൩൩'

*Tōraṇa-taragu-viḷa-ōla*— *Tōraṇa* is the '*tōraṇa-viḷakku*' (the arch of lumps) or the '*dīpamālā*' (the garland of lamps) that is put up in front of the entrance to temples and *taragu* is a document or lease; so that the full term signifies a deed assigning some lands on *viḷakku-pāṭṭam* tenure to an individual who was required in exchange therefor to maintain the arch of lamps lighted daily or on festive occasions according to the terms of his agreement. From the way in which the word has been used in another record, *tōraṇa* seems to have connoted also the land intended for this item of service.

തിരുവെളുന്നന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്ന തോരണം വെച്ചുകൊള്ളുമാറും കല്പിച്ചു തോരണത്തരകം എഴുതി കൊടുത്താൻ . . . ഇത്തോരണത്തന്നെ എളുക . . . . . തോരണത്തിനകത്തു ഒളളി . . . . . മക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു ആവണിനുംകൂറത്തിവിളക്കിന്നും വിഷ്ണുവിളക്കിന്നും തിരിയും കൂട . . . . .

It may be noted that *Tōṇipattōṭṭam* was the name of a garden in the Kottayam plates of *Sthāṇu-ravi*, where the particular garden may have been assigned for such specific service. A contribution called *tōraṇa-kāṇikkai* occurs in Tamil records. In the *Vellāṇi* inscription of *Vīra-Rāmanavarman* the limits of the land that was endowed to the temple were marked off at their four corners by the erection of *tōraṇas*, which seem to signify not ornamental archways but stone posts or pillars as boundary stones. This practice of demarcating temple property was common also in the Tamil districts, where stone slabs bearing the representations respectively of the trident (*tiruchchūlattāpanam-śeyḍu*) and the discus (*tiruvāḷikkal-nāṭṭi*) were used in respect of Śiva and Viṣṇu temples.

The word *tavayāriyar* has undergone some change from Sanskrit on adaptation to the vernacular. *Tavai* is derived from the Sanskrit word *sabhā* by the usual substitution of *ta* for *sa* in Malayalam, and the equally common change of *bhā* into *pai* or *vai* (cf. Tam. *avai*); while the word *āriyar* is the Sanskrit *ārya* 'a respectable man.' *Tāvayāriyar* may therefore be considered as synonymous with the '*sabhai-perumakkal*' or 'the great men of the assembly' of other records.

The proper names occurring in the records are:—

Tiruveḷunnannūr	is Veḷmallūr in the Kottarakkara taluk
Ādiechamallūr	is in the Quilon taluk
Karakulāṇ	is in the Nedunnangad taluk
Muṭṭakkāyal	is probably Muṭṭakkāvu in the Quilon taluk
Kīlappērūr	is in the Chiriyinkil taluk
Ḥaṅgulaṁ	is perhaps the village in the Quilon taluk
Peruṅgulaṁ	is in the Kottarakara taluk
Umayallūr	is probably Umayanallūr in the Quilon taluk
Kunṇunṇēl	the Kilimanur chief was known as 'Kunṇunṇēl Rājā.'
Kārimarugu	
Kariviḷa	
Karakkāḍu	Karikkōḍu is in the Quilon taluk.
Tōṭṭamaṇ	

## No. 16—Record of Vira Kodaivarman of Kollam 711.

Text.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 കൊല്ലം ഐശ്വര്യമാണ്ടു മേടമാസം ര തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു  
എ-
- 2 ഞ്ഞെയപ്പെൻ തിരുമന്മാർ തവയാരിയെർ തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക ഇരുന്നരുളു കൽ  
പ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ കണക്ക[1\*] കാരിമരുക ചീവിതത്തിൽ ഇളംകുളംതെല  
ത്തു ചെരുവെരുക-
- 3 ഉത്തു കന്നമ്മൽ ഇളയടത്തു ശ്രീവീരകോതവമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊ  
യിക്കന്മിക്കെറക്ക ക്കു നാലതൊട്ടിന്നകം ഉള്ളിട്ട തടി പലവിനാൽ നിലം  
ര ൭ ൫ ൭ വിത്തുപ്പാടും ഇതിന്നു ഇ-
- 4 തകരെയും ചരിഞ്ഞ കരപ്പുരടങ്ങളും കരക്കോടും തൊട്ടമണ്ണം കരക്കുടിവ  
രിയെയും കൂടി തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ണലെയപ്പെന്ന ഉഷ്പുജവകെക്ക  
കൽപ്പിച്ചു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂ-
- 5 ര എണ്ണലെയപ്പെൻ തിരുനടയിൽ എഴുതിവച്ചു കൊടുത്താർ ശ്രീവീര  
കോതവമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മിക്കെറ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂർ എ  
ണ്ണലെയപ്പെന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കുവെ [11\*]

## Translation.

On the 4th day of the month of Mēḍan in the Kollam year 711, the *tavaiyāriyar* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruveḷunneṇṇūr in the presence of god Eṇḍalayappaṇ wrote up the following account:

The following lands in Cheruperuṅḡalam of Iḷaiḡulam-deḡam in Kāri-marugū-jīvitam belonging to the subordinates of śrī Vira-Kōḍavarman-Tiruvaḍi of Kunnummel-Iḷiyadāṁ, namely—

the lands comprising many *taḍi* (in extent) and having a sowing capacity of 45 *para* of paddy seed inclusive of the arable lands, the compound sites on the slopes, Karakkāḍu, Tōṭṭannan and also the tenants, were provided for the expenses of the early morning *pūja* of the god Eṇḍalayappaṇ of Tiruveḷunneṇṇūr and the subordinates of śrī Vira-Kōḍavarman gave this in writing in this manner to the god Eṇḍalayappaṇ at Tiruveḷunneṇṇūr.

## No. 17—Record of the Kodaivarman of Kollam 715.

Text.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 ഐശ്വര്യമാണ്ടു മിതുന്നമാസം ര ന- തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാ  
തിരുമാടത്തിനുംകൽ എണ്ണലെയപ്പെൻ തിരുമന്മാരെ തവയാരിയർ  
തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക ഇ-
- 2 തന്നരുളു കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ കണക്ക [1:] ആതിച്ചനെല്ലു മുതൽനാട്ടിൽ  
ക്കരക്കളും തെലത്തിന്നു കന്നമ്മൽ ഇളയടത്തു ശ്രീവീരകോതവമ്മർ  
തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മിക്കെറക്ക

1 Registered as No. 3 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. S.

2 Registered as No. 4 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. S.

- 3 കള്ള കരക്കളും ഉള്ളിട്ട വയെൽത്തൊട്ടിന്നും കരപ്പുരയടങ്ങുമാക്കും കൂടെ തിരു  
വെളുന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻറ തൊരണം വച്ചി രക്ഷിക്കുമാറു കൽ  
പ്പിച്ചു തൊരണത്തരക വി-
- 4 ലെയൊലെയും എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താർ കൊയിക്കുമിനെറു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂർ  
എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്നു ഇമ്മാക്കമെ ഇനിലങ്ങുമാക്കും പുരയടങ്ങുമാക്കും കൂടെ  
ആണ്ടുവരയും ചെറുകെട്ടി
- 5 ഇടങ്ങുറ്റിയായ് തന്നു പൊരുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ചു കർപ്പൂരവില നെല്ലു ൭൭ ൯൯  
ചെറുതാക [H\*]

### Translation.

On the 4th day of the month of Mithunam in the (Kollam) year 715, the *tuvayārīyar* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruveḷunnaṁṁūr in the presence of the god Endalayanppan, wrote the following account:—

The lands in Karakuḷam-deśam in the Mudal-naḍu of Ādicchebanallūr belonging to the subordinates of (the chief) Śrī Vira-Kōḷaivarmaṁ-Tiruvaḍi of Kunnumāl-Iḷaiyaḍam, namely:

the lands of Karakkuḷam inclusive of the fields, gardens and compound sites, were provided for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōraṇam*) to the god Endalayanppan of Tiruveḷunnaṁṁūr and a deed (*tōraṇutaraṇuvilai-yōla*) was drawn up and given by the servants (*kōyilkaṁmi*) to the god of the temple.

The quantity that was agreed to be measured annually by the *sembukatti-idangali* (copper-measure of the temple) from those lands was 7 *para* and 5 *idangali* of good paddy as *karppūra-vila*.

### No. 18.—Record of Vira Kerala-Ramavarman.

#### Text.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂർ പട്ടാരകെക്കു ന്നാനുമക മാണ്ട കുറുപത്തായറ ച ചെന്ന  
നാറു ആതിച്ചനെല്ലൂർ മുതൽനാട്ടിൽ കരിവിളെ ദേശത്തിന്നു കീഴപ്പെ-
- 2 ഞ്റുർ ശ്രീവീരകരളരാചവാർ തിരുവടിക്കുമെന്ത കൊയിക്കുമികുമാക്കു കള്ള ക  
രിവിളെയും മെൽമണ്ണും ഉള്ളിട്ട വയെൽത്തൊമ്മിന്നും കരപ്പുര-
- 3 ുറ്റിന്നും കരപ്പുരയടങ്ങുമാക്കും കൂടെ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെ  
ൻറ തൊരണം വച്ചു രക്ഷിക്കുമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ചിത ഇന്നിന്ന എഴുക കിഴക്കു
- 4 കരക്കളത്തിന്നും പെടാത്തതു വെക്കു കടലാത്തൊരണത്തിന്നു പെടാത്തതു പടി  
ഞ്ഞായിറു മന്നെൻമിറൊക്ക പെടാത്തതു വടക്കു കരിവിളെ എണ്ടലെയ-
- 5 യപ്പെൻകാവിന്നും പെടാത്തതു ഇന്നാൽ എഴുകുകൊക്കത്തു അകപ്പെട്ട ഉൽപ  
ത്തിക്കു ആണ്ടുവരവും ചെറുകെട്ടിയ ൭ യാൻ തന്നു പൊരിമാറു കൽപ്പി-
- 6 ചു കർപ്പൂരവില നെല്ലു ൭൭ ൯൯ ചെറുതാക ശ്രീ [H\*]

<sup>1</sup> Registered as No. 5 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

## Translation.

In the 663rd year of the god Bhattāraka of Tiruveḷunnaṁṇūr when 8 days of Kumbha had expired, the following lands belonging to the subordinates of king Śrī Vira-Kēraḷa-Rāṁavarman-Tiruvāḍi of Kīlappēruṛ, namely:

Karivile, Mēlmaṇ inclusive of fields, arable lands and compound sites were given for the maintenance of a *tōraṇa* (an arch of lamps) to god Eṇḍalayappaṇ in Tiruveḷunnaṁṇūr.

The boundaries of these lands are (the following):

- in the east, up to Karakuḷam,
- in the south, up to the lands called the Kaḍelā-tōraṇa,
- in the west, up to Mannenchirū, and
- in the north, up to Eṇḍalayappaṇ-kavu in Karivile.

From the produce from the lands lying between these four boundaries the annual rent which was to be measured by the *sembukattiya-para* (copper *para* of the temple) as *karppūravila-nellu* was fixed at 7 *para* and 5 *iḍaṅgaḷi* of good paddy. Prosperity!

## No. 19.—Record of Vira Keraia-Ramavarman of Kollam 793.

Text.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 "എൻമെൻ ചാണ്ടി കമ്പത്തായൻ ചെന്ന നാൾ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൽമാടത്തിങ്കൽ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ തിരുമുന്മാരെ തവെയാരിയർ തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക ഇരുന്ന-
- 2 തളിക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ കണക്കു [1\*] മുട്ടെക്കായിൽ തെചത്തു മെൽപ്പടി എലായിൽ കീഴുപ്പെരൂർ സ്ത്രീവീരകെരള രാമവണ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കമന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മികെരളക്കു ഒരു തടി പലവിനാൽ
- 3 നിന്നും ൪൧൫൭ വിത്തുപാടും കൂട തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ ഉഷപുഞ്ചെക്കു വകയായിക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു കൊടുത്താർ സ്ത്രീവീരകെരളരാമവണ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കമന്ത കൊയിക-
- 4 ന്നുകെരള തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [1\*] ഇന്നിലത്തിന്നു എളുകു കിഴക്കു മുന്നിക്കളത്തിന്റെ വരമ്പിന്നു പടിഞ്ഞാറേയറ തെക്കു ഉമെയെല്ലർ തെവെരെടെ ചാത്തിനി-
- 5 ലത്തിന്നു വടക്കു പടിഞ്ഞാറേയറ ഇലഞ്ഞിക്കെൽക്കു കിഴക്കു വടക്കു ഇടത്തുതത്തുവരംപിന്നു തെക്കു ഇന്നാലു എളുകെക്കെത്ത അകപ്പെട്ട തടി പലവിനാൽ നിന്നും ൪൧൫൭-൦ ഉഷപു-
- 6 ഞെക്കു വകയായിക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാർ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ കൊയിക്കന്മികളൊം ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [11\*]

1 Registered as No. 6 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1898 M. E.

2 A symbol of Kollam has been engraved at the end of the plate previous to this and it has to be prefixed to the year 793 of this record.

**Translation.**

On the 8th day expired of the Kumbha month of the Kollam year 793, the *tavaiyāriyar* met in a boby in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruveḷunnannūr in presence of god Eṇḍalaiyappan and wrote the following account after deliberation:-

The subordinates of Vīra-Kēraḷa Rāmavarman-Tiruvuḍi of Kīḷappērūr gave lands many *taḍi* (in extent) and having the sowing capacity of 45 *para* of seed in Muṭṭakkāyil-ēḷāy in the same *ḍēṣam* for the early morning worship of god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr.

The boundaries of this land are:—

the east (limit) is to the west of the Mūñnikkuḷum tank,

the south (limit) is to the north of the land belonging to the *sānti* (priest) of the god at Umayallār,

the west (limit) is to the east of Ilañjikkal, and

the north (limit) is to the south of Idatturutti-paḡumbū.

The temple officials of god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr had this land lying between these four boundaries and (having a sowing capacity) of 45 *para* entered (in the account), for (the expenses of) the early morning worship of the god.

**No. 20.—A record dated in Kollam 878.**

The subjoined record dated in Kollam 878 has no special importance attached to it except that it shows how a case of assault on the person of certain temple servants (*pillar*) was adjudged two centuries ago, how some compensation in cash for the outrage was demanded from the assailant a certain Śankaran-Kaṇḍan of Idamana, probably a temple official, and how some landed property was accepted in exchange, the annual rent from which was credited to the temple revenues.

It is noteworthy that the expiation or *prāyaścitta* for untoward happenings generally took the form of some penitent charity to the local temple and that the aggrieved party did not come in for a share of the amount of compensation. Although there may be some justification for appropriating the amount to the temple in this particular instance, where the penalty demanded was for the ill-treatment of some temple servants; in many other cases also, where individuals quite unconnected with temples received injury culminating even in man-slaughter, the accused were let off cheaply with the apparently light punishment of having to burn perpetual lamps in temples. The purely accidental and entirely unintentional nature of the offences was of course taken into account to temper the severity of the criminal law of those times; but it is not understood why the injured parties or their survivors were not granted any portion of the levied penalty, as would have been reasonable and even equitable to expect. Lighting of lamps in temples had perhaps its own moral value for both the parties, but the more practical aspect of utilising a portion of the fines towards making amends to the affected party may have been given some consideration. It is not impossible that this was also attended to in



addition to the purely religious expiation provided for in many of the temple records noticed in the *Madras Epigraphical Reports*, though it did not find specific mention in records relating to the temple gifts. The *State Manual*<sup>2</sup> quotes an instance from the chronicles of the Padmanābhasvāmin temple wherein Śrī Vīra-Kēraḷavarman (Kollam 520) is stated to have made a gift of some lands to the survivors of certain Deśi-brahmans at Nilamēlkkunnu, who had been done to death at his instigation.

The fiscal term *aḍukkuvaḍu* is explained by Gundert as 'the right retained by the proprietor from the purchaser'. It was 'a fee generally varying from 10 to 20% of the *kānam* consideration, which a *kānamidār* had to pay to the *jenmi* or landed proprietor for renewing a *kānappāṭṭam* lease'. It also represented the small fee<sup>3</sup> of 10 *paṇam* due from the heir on his succession to the *virutti*-holding and which had to be paid to the Sirkar for the grant of the royal *nāṭṭu* or commission.

In this record Saṅkaran-Kanḍan of Idamana who had to pay 240 *paṇam* for the *prāyaścittam*-penalty supplemented it by an additional 20%, i. e., 48 *paṇam*, and in exchange therefor set apart two bits of land each of one *para* sowing capacity and promised to measure out annually  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *para* of paddy to the temple from the 8 *para* of annual rent derivable from the lands in question. The *aḍukkuvaḍu* fee was for the renewals of the *pāṭṭam*, which the original proprietor of the lands had now to pay to the present owner (the temple), in his new capacity of a tenant-lessee. The advantage that he secured by the additional percentage of penalty was that he enjoyed the lands without the fear of eviction, so long as he paid the temple its share of paddy (*pāṭṭavel*) on these lands.

#### Text.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 "അയ്യച്ച മാണ്ട ഇടവമാസം ഒ ചെന്ന വിയാഴാഴ്ചയും രൊമിണിയും പൂ  
വപ[ക്ഷ]ത്തു തൃതിയയും ഇന്നാളാൽ തിരുവെളുന്നെ-
- 2 ന്നാർ മക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൽമാടത്തിങ്ങൽ തവെയാരിയെർ തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക  
ഇരു[ന്നരു]\*ള കൽപ്പിച്ച എഴുതിയ പ്രാച്ചിത്ത യൊവ കരണമാവിതു[\*]  
തിരുവെളുന്നെന്താർ പ-
- 3 ടുരകെരെടെ പിള്ളെരെ ഇടമനെ ചാകരൻ കണ്ടെൻ വെലൻ ചൈതതിനു  
പ്രാച്ചിത്തം ചെയ്യുമാറ കൽപ്പിച്ച രാമിപണം പാഴയം അടുക്കവതു  
രാശി.
- 4 പണം പാഴയ കൂട രാശിപണം ചാച്ചയ്യ നാം ചാകരൻ കണ്ടെൻ തനിക്ക്  
പടിഞ്ഞായിററ ചിറവുകൈലിപ്പ വെളുന്നെന്താർ തെച്ചത്തു കാളവയെ  
ലിൽ എലാ-

1 Madras Epigl. Report for 1918, and *Hist. Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 327.

2 Trav. State Manual, Vol. I, p. 264.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 318.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 336.

5 Registered as No. 7 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1918 M. E.

6 The word Kollam expressed by a symbol is found engraved on the leaf previous to this and has to be prefixed to the year 878 of this record.

- 5 തിരു പുന്നിർട്ടിരെയിൽക്കല്ലാള കണ്ടെത്തി ച നാൽ നിലം ച ൧൦ അ  
തിന്ന കിഴക്കു ആട്ടറക്കണ്ടത്തിന്ന കിഴക്കു വട്ടക്കണ്ടം തടി ച നാൽ നിലം  
ച ൧൦ കൂട നി
- 6 ലം ച ൧൦ പ്രാച്ചിത്തമാക ഏഴതിവച്ച തന്ന ആണ്ടെന്നിൻ വരവേണ്ടും  
പാട്ടനെൽ ച ൧൦ ഇ പണം ചാച്ചിത്തമാക ആണ്ടുവരവും തിരുവെളുന്ന  
ന്നൂർ പട്ട-
- 7 ചാരകെരടെ ചൊപകെട്ടിയുൽ വരവേണ്ടും ഉപയനെൽ ൭൭ ൪൪ ഇ  
ന്നെൽ ൭൭ ൪൪ യും പ്രാച്ചിത്തമാക ഏഴതികൊടുത്താൻ ചകെരൻ ക  
ണ്ടൻ തി-
- 8 തവെളുന്നന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു തവെട്ടൊതുവാൾ മണ്ണൂർ കന്നൻ കന്നന്ന  
ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [11<sup>൪</sup>]

## Translation.

On the 7th day of the month of Idavam of Kollam year 878 corresponding to a Thursday with Rōhiṇī-nakṣatram and triṭyā-tirhi of the first fortnight, the *tavayāriyār* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple at Tiruvelunnamūr wrote this *prāchchittayōla* (document relating to expiation).

The compensation which Śaṅkaran-Kaṇḍan of Idamana was directed to render for having assaulted (*balansey*) the servants of the god at Tiruvelunnamūr was 240 *rāsi-panam*, which together with 48 *rāsi-panam* for *aḍukkavudu* amounted to 288 *panam*.

For this amount Śaṅkaran-Kaṇḍan gave the following lands belonging to him, namely,

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *para* (of paddy) in Punnirattiraikkal of Velunnamūr-deśam in Paḍiñṇāyaru-Chiravūrkkal and one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *para* (of paddy) situated near Aṭṭarakandam to the east of the above;

in all, land (having the sowing capacity) of 2 *para* (of paddy seed); and from the annual rent of 8 *para* of paddy derivable from these lands he agreed for the amount of 288 *panam* to provide 7 *para* and 5 *iḍaṅguḷi* of paddy to the temple, as measured by the *Sembukutti* (measure) of the god at Tiruvelunnamūr to Kunnam-Kunnam of Maṇṇūr,<sup>1</sup> the *tavappoḍuvāl* of the same temple.

## No. 21—A record dated in Kollam 878.

Text.<sup>2</sup>

## First side.

- 1 ചാച്ചിത്തമാക ഇടവമാസം മന്ന ചെന്ന ചനിയാഴ്ചയും അത്തവും പൂവ  
പക്ഷത്തു ഏറാദേശിയും അന്ന അസ്സമിച്ചു ധൻരാമി കൊണ്ടു ഇടമെ

1 Kunnam-Kunnam of Maṇṇūr figures in records dated in years so far apart as Kollam 710 and Kollam 878 and he could not therefore have been contemporaneous with the records themselves. It was during his time as *puduvāl* of the temple that many of the temple lease deeds seem to have been rewritten in his name. The word '*immāyama*' at the end of each document shows that all the records were strung together in a collected form at that time.

2 Registered as No. 8 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1898 M. 16.

- 2 നെ പൊറിക്കു സാക്ഷിക്കുറി കൊടുക്കുന്നപ്പൊഴും ചെമ്പിലായിത്തുരുത്തി  
ക്കാട്ടു കിരുട്ടെൻ നാരായണനും പുനക്കൽതുരുത്തിക്കാട്ടു ചുവരെൻ  
നാരായണെ-
- 3 നും അയ്യൻറ കണിക്കൽ തുരുത്തിക്കാട്ടു ചുവരെൻ നാരായണനും ചി-  
റക്കരതുരുത്തിക്കാട്ടു നാരായണൻ ചാകരനും മാടപ്പെള്ളിൽ ചം-  
കര-
- 4 ന് കിരുട്ടനും കൂട തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു മണ്ഡപത്തിൽ പട്ടമി-  
രുന്ന് സാക്ഷിക്കുറി കൊടുത്തതിന്നു ഇടമനെ ഇന്നാർ ചെമ്പിലായി ഇന്നാ-  
ർക്ക കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം ൨൩ രൂപ പുനക്കൽ ഇന്നാർക്ക സാക്ഷിക്കാ-  
ണത്തിന്നു കൊടുത്ത രാചി ൪൪ അയ്യൻറ കണിക്കൽ ഇന്നാർക്ക കൊ-  
ടുത്ത
- 6 രാശിപണം രൂപ ചിറക്കര ഇന്നാർക്ക കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം രൂപ മാട  
പ്പെള്ളിൽ ഇന്നാർക്ക കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം ൧൩൨ രൂപ രാവണ്ണ ജന-  
ത്തിലെവര
- 7 സാക്ഷിക്കാണവും പൊറിക്കൊണ്ടു സാക്ഷിക്കുറികളും കൊടുത്ത ശേഷം ഇട-  
മനെ ഇന്നാർ തെവരെടെ നടെയിൽ വന്ന ദേവന്റെ സാക്ഷിക്കാണ-  
ത്തിന്നു ൪൭ കണ്ട-
- 8 ത്തിന്നു ഏഴുതിയ കരണവും നടെയിൽ വച്ചു സമുതായത്തിലെവരെടെ  
സാക്ഷിക്കാണത്തിന്നു പൊതുവാളിടെ കൈയിൽ കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം  
൧൨൪ രൂപ വാങ്ങിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ദെ-

*Second side.*

- 9 വെന്റെ സാക്ഷിക്കുറിയും ദേവന്റെ നടെയിൽ വച്ചുകൊടുത്തിതു ഇടമനെ  
ഇന്നാർ സാക്ഷിക്കുറിയും ഏടുത്തുകൊണ്ടു മണ്ഡപത്തിൽ ചിന്നെയും പട്ട-  
മിരുന്ന് ശ-
- 10 ക കൊട്ടി കുടിക്കാരിയും ചെയ്യമാറ എന്നു കൽപ്പിക്കുന്നപ്പൊഴും ജനത്തി-  
ലെവര സാക്ഷിക്കുറി കൊടുക്കുന്നപ്പൊഴും സമുദായം ഉടെയ കാവുപറ-  
ത്തു ഇന്നാരോടും
- 11 പിള്ളെപ്പൊഴും പൊതുവാളൊടും ചൊരിച്ചു സാക്ഷിക്കുറിയും കൊടുത്തു  
ശംകം കൊട്ടിതു മെൽപ്പടി തിയതി ദേവന്റെ സാക്ഷിക്കുറിക്കു ഏഴുതിയ  
കണക്കു തിരുവ-

1 The word *poṭṭi* (a class of brahman) comes from *poṭṭu* = to praise. It has been used in this ordinary significance in *Acharakalavai*, v. 64—*ചിതപിള്ളൻ പോട്ടി ബലപരമാർ*.

12. മുന്നന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു യോഗം തിരക്കഞ്ഞു<sup>1</sup> ഇങ്ങനെ ഏഴുതിയ സാക്ഷി-  
ക്കറിയാവിതു തിരുവെളുന്നന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു പട്ടമിരിപ്പാൻ അവ-  
കാശമാകുന്ന സ-
13. സാക്ഷിക്കാണവും പററിക്കൊണ്ടു സാക്ഷിക്കറിയും ഏഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താൻ തിരു-  
വെളുന്നന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു തവപ്പെറ്റാതുവാൾ മണ്ണൂർ കന്നെൻ ക-  
ന്നെൻ പൊതുവാൾ.
14. കരംവണ്ണം കൽപ്പിച്ചു താന അനുഭവ അവകാശം കൊടുത്തു .  
ഇമ്മാക്കമെ.

### No. 22—A record dated in Kollam 839.

This document dated in Kollam 839 (= A. D. 1684) is of some judicial interest in that it contains information as to how the *samudāyam* or the temple assembly of Tiruvellunnannūr disposed of a case where an individual of the fisherman caste (*mukkuvar*) was guilty of theft from a Muhammadan's house and how the case was adjudged by the assembly and the offender brought to book by the confiscation of some of his property to the temple.

The accused was to have been arrested for the imposition perhaps of some monetary or other fines; but as he tried to evade the law by going in hiding, his property situated within the *dēsam* was confiscated, his documents were secured, and the pepper and other household chattel were properly appraised and the value recovered from him. The *ślai* records relating to his transactions outside the *dēsam* were also kept in the custody of the temple.

It is interesting to note that the Muhammadan is called Kunji-pāva-ti(?). Kunji being a pettish surname common in Malabar.

### Text.<sup>2</sup>

1. തിരുവെളുന്നന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു കഞ്ചുപാവതിയെന്ന തുലുക്കാനകത്തു  
പക കട്ട മുക്കവെനെ തമുതായത്തിൽ നിന്നു തടുത്താ-
2. റെ അവെൻ ഒളിച്ചുപായ ചെപ്പം അവെൻറ വസ്തുവക്കൊണ്ടു പൊന്നാ  
റെ അവനെപ്പിടിച്ചു തമുതായത്തിന്റെക്കു കൊടുത്തതിന്റെറ ചെപ്പം അ  
വെൻറ
3. വസ്തുവ ആയിട്ടൊള്ളതിൽ കടശത്തിന്നു അകത്തു ഒളിച്ചു വസ്തുവും കടവായിപ്പു  
മുറികെളും വൈവനു കൊടുത്തശേഷം അവൻറ വീട്ടിയിന്നു കൊണ്ടു  
പൊയ മുളകി-

1 The same expression has been used in the *Kāṇḍolippatti* and means that the Yōgam members met in full numbers in the Tiruvellunnannūr temple.

2 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1938 A. D.

- 4 നും പാതീത്രത്തിനും മറ്റും പലവകയായിട്ടു ജേതളു ഏപ്പെർപ്പെട്ടതിനും കൂടപ്പറഞ്ഞു നീർന്ന അതിന്റെ അത്തവും ചററിക്കൊണ്ടു ഭദ്രാത്തി നു പുറത്തുള്ള കടവായിപ്പു ഓടൈ-
- 5 കളും വൈപ്പിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു നീട്ടും കൊടുത്തിതു ചന്നമുൻ മാണ്ടു കന്നിത്താ യെറു മറ്റന്നു- കൽപ്പിച്ചുമെക്കു വെളുന്നെന്തർ സമുതായത്തിലെവ ക്കും ജെന്നത്തിലെവക്കും കൂടി നീ-
- 6 ഒട്ടുതി വിട്ടുകെന്നു തിരുവിജയമായ നീട്ടു[11\*]

### Translation.

The assembly (*samudāyam*) of the temple at Tiruveṭṭamamūr apprehended a fisherman, who had committed theft, entering the house of a Muhammadan called Kūṇṇu Pāvāli; but when he concealed himself, his belongings were distrained (by the assembly). When later, he was caught and handed over to the assembly, such of his property as were within the *dēśam* and other documents relating to loans (*kāḍavāyppinnuṟi*) were confiscated to the god (*dēvan*). The pepper and other household chattel which had been taken away were appraised and their value was recovered and the documents relating to his transactions outside (the jurisdiction) of the *dēśam* were also kept as deposit.

The above order was issued on the 26th day of the Kūmi month of the (Kollam) year 839, and it was also ordered that a copy of this was to be communicated to all the members of the *samudāyam* and *mahājanam* of Velummanūr.

### No. 23—A record of Kollam 240 ?

The subjoined record belonging to the same set is dated in Kollam 240 and the other astronomical details of the date are Mīna 12, Wednesday, *Mukayiram-nakshatra*, and *pañcāmi-tithi*; but the language and the subject matter of the deed do not justify such an early date for it.

It registers the grant of some lands by two individuals named Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyam-Kaṇḍan of Chiravūrkkal for the maintenance of a *tōraṇa* in the temple at Tiruveṭṭamamūr. The script in which the record is engraved is Malayalam, while the language which is also characterised by its Malayalam endings is of the prolix documentary style, consisting of:

- (i) a preamble, as to when, how and where the transaction was made,
- (ii) the stipulation made by the donors that their gift should be utilised for the *tōraṇa*,
- (iii) the counter-agreement given by the temple that the gift will be properly set apart for its specific purpose,
- (iv) details of the boundaries of the land in question,
- (v) certain regulations in regard to the land,

(vi) the number of and occasions during which the lights were to be maintained in the temple, and

(vii) the signatures of the individuals witnessing the deed.

The following terms are used in the record:

*Tōranattarayu-nilayōla*—this refers to a document relating to a provision of land, from the rent of which a *tōraṇa* of lights had to be maintained in a temple; *tōraṇa* has also been used to refer to the land intended for the specific service.

*Elakōḷe*—The meaning of *ēla* is 'fine, penalty, exacted presents' and that of *koḷa* is 'forced contribution or fine'. *Elayum-koḷayum* is the expression generally used and it has been curtailed into '*elakoḷayum*'.

*Śuraṅgam* is a mistake for *śungam*, 'tolls or customs duties'.

*Tarayu* which here means 'a royal writ or a document' connotes also 'brokerage or commission'.

### Text.<sup>2</sup>

#### First side.

- 1 ചന്ദ്ര[ശ]മ മാണ്ട മീനത്താമര മെ എന്ന പുത്തനാഴ്ശ്ശയും മകെയിരവും പഞ്ചമിയും ഇന്നാളാൽ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൽമാടത്തിൽനിന്നു തിരുവെളുനെ-
- 2 (വളു)ന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പൻ തിരുമുവാക കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ തൊരണത്തരക വില്പായാലക്കരണമാവിതു [1\*] പടിഞ്ഞായിററുഞ്ചിറവൂർ കൈലിൽ വെളുന്നെന്തർ തെചത്തിനു തി-
- 3 രുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പന്നു തൊരണം വച്ചു കൊള്ളുമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ചു തൊരണത്തരകം എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താൻ ചിറവൂർക്കൈലിൽ കണ്ടെൻ കണ്ടെന്നും മണിയെ-
- 4 ന് കണ്ടെന്നും കൂട തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പന്നു ഇമ്മാക്കുമെ പടിഞ്ഞായിററുഞ്ചിറവൂർക്കൈലിൽ വെളുന്നെന്തർ ഒരശത്തിനു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടി-
- 5 ലെയപ്പന്നു തൊരണം വച്ചുകൊള്ളുമാറും തൊരകം എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിതു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പൻ. കണ്ടെൻ കണ്ടെന്നൊടും മണിയെൻ കണ്ടെന്നൊ-

1 Compare the following list of special privileges granted to kings in the *Keraḷolipatti*:

വാലും, തോലും, ചെന്നയും, കരിമ്പടവും, അക്കവും, ചുങ്കവും, ഏഴയും, കൊഴയും, ആനയും, വാളും, വീരശ്രംഖല, വർമ്മ, വാദ്യം, നിരമവേദി, തെറ്റിപ്പട്ടം, പടവീട്, പരക്കംകുത്തു, മുനിൽത്തളി, and ചിരവർത്തി.

2 Registered as No. 10 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1898 M. R.

3 Cancel the syllables വളു which have been repeated.

- 6 ടം കൂ[ട\*] ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [1\*] ഇത്തൊരണത്തിന്നു എളുക കിടക്ക ആറേയിൽ വെള്ളെകറക്കു പെടാത്തത തെക്കുവാലുവച്ചു കുവലക്കു പെടാത്തതു വാടിഞ്ഞായെറു കണ്ടായിക്കൊ-
- 7 ടു തൊട്ടിന്നു പെടാത്തത വടക്കു പൊരയ്ക്കൊട്ടിന്നു പെടാത്തതു ഇന്നാലു എളുകെക്കകത്തു അകപ്പെട്ട തൊരണത്തിന്നകത്തു ഒള്ള എഴുകൊഴെയും<sup>2</sup> ചുരകവും<sup>3</sup> തരക്കം കടിപതി ഒരു പുര-
- 8 വച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതിന്നു ആണ്ടുവരവും തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തുർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പെന്നു കൊടുത്തിരിക്കുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ചു അമിചങ്ങലം കടിപതിയൊടു ആണ്ടുവരവും വാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ചു ക-
- 9 ടിയരി മ ന്ന ന്നു ഇരട്ടിയാൽ നെല്ലു ചെറുതൽ മംമെ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു ആവണി സംക്രാന്തിവിളക്കിന്നും വിജുവുവിളക്കിന്നും കൂടനാഴി. ൨ ന്നെയും ൨൩ മെ വിളക്കു തിരിയു-

*Second side.*

- 10 ടം കൂട ആണ്ടുവരവും മെൽപ്പടി തെചത്തു കടിയിരിക്കുന്ന കടിപതിയൊടു പററിക്കൊള്ളുമാറും കടിപതിയൊടു വാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളുമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ചു മെക്കു
- 11 ഇതിന്നു അറിയും താക്കി മഞ്ഞിപ്പെഴെ ഇന്നാരിന്നാറും പെറേയിൽ കൊവിന്നെൻ വിക്കിരമെന്നും ഇവർകെറും അറിയ ഇത്തൊരണയൊല കൈ എഴു-
- 12 തിയ കണക്കു കുറന്നുമാട്ടു രാജമൻ അഞ്ചുപ്പൻ കൈ എഴുത്തു [1\*] ഇമ്മെഞ്ചൊല്ലപ്പെട്ട തൊരണയൊല എഴുതിവച്ചു കൊടുത്ത കണ്ടൻ കണ്ടെന്നും മണിയെൻ കണ്ടെന്നും കൂട പ്പെ[11\*]

**Translation.**

On the 12th day expired of the month of Mīna of the (Kollam) year 240 corresponding to a Wednesday with Makayirum-nakshatra and pañchamī-tithi, the following deed relating to *Uraṇa-vīla* was written up in the entrance-hall of the temple at Tiruveḷunnaṇṇūr and in the presence of god Eṇḍalayappan:

1 Engraved below the line.

2 Compare:

തെക്കുവെളുകൊണ്ടും

അരിപടി പെരടിപററി കോഴവാങ്ങിച്ചുചേരേൻ

കരിക്കട്ടെ മമൻചെയ്തതമ: ജ്ജിപ്പിക്കുന്നു

—*Umakeraṇḍam*, XVIII, 17.

and എഴുതും കോഴയമകപുക്കുണ്ടല്ലം

വാഴും നീചങ്ങടെ രാജമോറങ്ങല്ലം

—*Patracharitam*.

3 Probably ചുരകവും.

Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan of Chiravūrkkal together gave in writing the *tōraṇa-taraṇu* for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōraṇa*) to the god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷummannūr-dēsam, (a sub-division) of the western Chiravūrkkal.

In the same manner, god Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷummannūr also had the document drawn up with Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan for the maintenance of the *tōraṇa* to Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷummannūr in Tiruveḷummannūr-dēsam, (which was itself) in Paḍinnāṭṭu-Chiravūrkkal.

The boundaries of this (land for) *tōraṇa* are:

in the east, up to Vellakkara in Aṇṇai,  
in the south, up to the crossing of roads,  
in the west, up to the garden in Kaṇḍayikkōḍu, and  
in the north, up to Poraykkōḍu.

The fines, tolls and commissions on the lands lying within these boundaries which the tenants were required to pay to god Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷummannūr in a year was  $6\frac{1}{2}$  *iḍaṅgaḷi* of rice (*kuḍiyari*), which doubled will be 1 *para*  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *iḍaṅgaḷi* of paddy; and with this  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *nāḷi* of good ghee and 250 wicks for the *Āṇṇi-saṅkrānti* and Vishu lamps were ordered to be obtained every year from the tenants cultivating the land.

The witnesses who know this are certain persons in Maṇjippuḷa, Gōvindu-Vikkiraman of Pereyil; and with the knowledge of these men, this is the signature of Rāman-Ayyappan of Kuṇṇikkōḍu, who wrote this *tōraṇa*-deed. This is also the attestation of Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan, who had the above-mentioned document drawn up.

#### No. 24.—Kilimanur record of Kollam 343.

The subjoined inscription is written in Tamil on a set of six cadjan leaves discovered in the Vernaular Records Office within the Fort at Trivandrum and from the remarks made at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the next leaf, it is understood that the whole is a 'true copy' of a record engraved on a set of copper-plates whose whereabouts are not, however, now traceable. The 5th plate appears to have been missing from the set even at the time of the preparation of the cadjan copy and the inscription is also incomplete as it stops abruptly with the seventh leaf, second side, one or more sheets being missing at the end to complete the document. From the manner in which the cadjan copy has been written up at the rate of five lines on each page beginning from the inner side of the first leaf, it looks as if its scribe had been careful to copy down line for line and leaf for plate of the copper original. In the same Records Office were also found cadjan copies of several other copper-plate documents, whose originals had already been procured by this department for publication: *viz.*, Śrīvallabhangōḍai and Māmbaḷli records edited on pages 9, 13 and 76 of Volume IV of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*. From these facts, it can be affirmed that the present cadjan copy is a trustworthy document, so far as its subject matter goes.



The original record must have been engraved in Vatteluttu characters of the same type as those employed in the Mamballi plates of Vīra-Keraḷavarman; but the copyist who prepared the cadjan *payarppu* has been responsible for the large number of misreadings which are found to bristle all over the copy, mostly on account of his ignorance of the language used in the documents and also because of the inevitable confusion confronting the transcriber of Vatteluttu in the proper differentiation between several letters of its alphabet, which bear a close family likeness in their curvature and configuration. Notable among these errors of transcription are the following:

(i) *ya* has generally been confused with *te* to whose form it approximates, and this has given rise to the incorrect readings: தெவடெகோடனும் for தேவக் கொவனும் (l. 5), காடுடெ கரையும் for காடுக் கரையும் (l. 7), குளமுடெ for குளமுக் (l. 18) etc; and in one instance it has been misread as *tu*, where பணியெழுதும் has been read in place of the correct பணியெழுதும் (l. 25):

(ii) *na* has been read as *pa* or *va* and *vice versa* by the plausible excuse of ignoring the final upward stroke of the latter letters; for example நடுடெ (l. 53) ought to be read as படகை (this word occurs in lines 7 and 18 of Mamballi plates of Keraḷavarman); நடகாரம் (l. 11) ought to be படகாரம், while திருவாள்வாள்ப் பின்றெவாள் (l. 13) must evidently be திருநாள்(நாள்)ப் பின்றெநாள்:

(iii) the excusable but mistaken identification of the letters *pa* and *va* has commonly been indulged in, owing perhaps to the slovenly incision of the letters in the original itself:

(iv) the name of the king வீரஉதயமார்த்தாண்ட has been incorrectly read as வீரதேவமார்த்தாண்ட, because the vowel *u* was mistaken for the initial *e* curve for the second letter *ta* and the third letter *ya* was correspondingly read as *va* to suit the first letter so as to produce the sensible word *dēva*; but in line 56 this solution was not possible because of the clearer formation of the first letter and the misreading has therefore produced the word வீரவதேவ:

(v) the vowel *u* has been confused for *a* in the word *uri* (ll. 22, 23 and 26) probably because the initial redundant curvature of *a* was indistinct in the original, or the copyist read it as such from the analogous readings of *ari* occurring correctly elsewhere in the same lines; but from arithmetical calculation, it has been possible to ascertain that in all the corrected instances the word ought to be *uri* = half a *nāḷi*:

(vi) The copyist's ignorance of the language of inscription is exhibited in his readings of வயச்சன் for உவச்சன் and பாதினற for வாதினற (l. 10), அருள்வழி for ஆள்வழி (l. 13) and in many other instances, where he appears to have been solely guided by the shape, probably obliterated, of the letters without a side-glance at the sense of the words with reference to their context. A similar mistake occurs in l. 21 where நெல் கதாஅயிடு (1080 *para* of paddy) has been rendered into நெல் கண்ட அயறாயும்.

These and similar errors have been corrected in the footnotes, and the slight difficulty which had been experienced in guessing at the right readings for incorrectly-read proper names of persons and places has also been overcome, wherever possible.

The language of the record bears a close resemblance to that employed in the Mambalji record of king Vira-Keralavarman published on pages 76-80 of Volume IV *ante*; and as the orthographic peculiarities have already been discussed therein, it is not necessary to go over the same ground again in regard to this document also. A few of the expressions occurring in the record may be noticed.

*Ṇaṅṅāru*<sup>1</sup> has been taken to refer to the smaller tract of country administered by a prince and *Ṇaṅṅāru-vāṭunnaruliya* can therefore be taken as an epithet signifying 'who was the heir-apparent or Yuvarāja and was in actual administrative charge of a minor portion of the dominions': *Ṇaṅṅōkkāru* occurs in (l. 99) of the Tiruvalla plates and *Muṇṇukāru* in the Tirumelli plates.<sup>2</sup>

*Rakshābhōgam* (verb: *rakshichecha*) has been explained already,<sup>3</sup> as 'the owner's share of the produce' and as 'the share or fee given for protection and other facilities to the renter or owner of land as revenue or rent'. The *Kēraḷōḷ-patti* says that when the administrative control of the *Kēraḷa* country was handed over to the viceroys selected by the brahman oligarchy for short terms of service, one-sixth of the produce of the lands was set apart as the remuneration payable to the *Rakshāpurushas* or protectors for the maintenance of peace and order in the country and that this fee was called *rakshābhōgam* (*rājabhōgam*) or 'the amount to be enjoyed for the service of protection'. *Rakshābhōgam* was also the name of freeholds, which were granted by kings or chiefs to persons who had rendered them special service in times of peril. This term latterly came to have the wider significance noted above.

*Pulari*<sup>4</sup> is a classical Tamil word which has been adopted in Malayalam and it denotes the early part of the day about the time of morning twilight and is consequently the terminal portion of *vaikarai*. According to *Tolkāppiyam* the day of sixty *nāḷigai* was divided into six portions (*ṣiṟupōḷudū*) of ten *nāḷigai* each, beginning from sunset viz., *mālai*, *yāmam*, *vaikarai*, *kālai*, *unṇapakal* and *erpāḍu*. *Erpāḍu* (*el*=sun+*pāḍu*=setting) is identical in meaning with the expression *paṭṭiṇṇāru* (*jñāyāru*=sun+*paḍu*=setting) now in use in Malabar, but the latter refers to the cardinal direction, and not to the time, of the setting sun. It is customary in well-endowed temples in which worship is conducted six times (*āru-kālapṇai*) daily, to begin the first *pūja* (*ushahpūjā*) early in the morning. Provision for such an item of worship at *pulari* has been made in the Vellalūr inscription also.

*Uchchi* is midnoon when the sun is at its zenith; and *uchchi* which refers only to the position of the sun in the heavens has come to signify also the time of day, when that position is occupied by that luminary.

*Attāḷam-tiruvamudū* is the supper-offering to god. *Attāḷam* is compounded of *al*=darkness and *tāḷam*=descent, and is made to signify supper, the meal taken

1 *Trans. Archl. Series* Vol. IV, p. 27. Dr. Gundersen gives the meaning of *Ṇaṅṅāru-vāṭchcha* as 'the dignity of the second prince'.

2 *ஈ. புத்தமொழி நூல்படிப்புரை*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX., 290.

3 *Trans. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 8.

4 புலரியே காலை உத்தியின் என் இனஞ்செய்ததைப் போக்கினேன்—*Periyāḷvar-Tirumoli*, and தாழ்வையே புலரிவருநிலைமை அருளுதலு—*Uṇṇūṇṇi-saṁdēsam*.

at night time, as against *muttālam*, which though not similarly derivable means breakfast. *Attālapūjā* is god's worship conducted in temples at night after the evening ceremony of *dīpārādhanā* and before *ardhajāma-pūjā*, which is also generally hurried through before 10 p. m. *Attālam* and *Muttālam* are the two meals which constitute the daily dietary of an ordinary Malayalee.

*Māḍambi* is another term peculiar to Kēraḷa. It is composed of two words *māḍa* + *nambi* and connotes 'lord of a manor, *māḍam* meaning 'a storeyed building' and *nambi* signifying 'a superior person, or the son of a brahman by a mother of the military race'. *Māḍambimār* were the feudal barons of Travancore in the early days, who exercised limited authority and maintained small units of armed retainers. They had to pay certain fixed contributions to the central authority in the forms of *āṇḍukālcha*, *kettuteṅgu*, *rakshābhōgam* etc. *Māḍattinkīl* is the name of one of the five Kshatriya families of Kēraḷa and *Māḍabhūpati* is the title of the Cochin king. The mischief done by the petty chiefs called *Māḍambimār* to the ruling dynasty at Travancore in the 17th and 18th centuries is well-known.

*Tirumēṇikāvalkku-nilkum-pillar* (l. 24) is more correctly *tirumēṇikāvalkku-nīrkum-pillaikal*. *Tirumēṇikāval* is the office of the temple watchman whose duty is to mount guard in the temple premises at nights and who is therefore responsible for the safety of the temple utensils etc. and of the god's images (*tirumēṇi*); on account of this duty, the watchman is also designated by that expression. *Pillar* is the plural form of *Pillai*, whereas in Tamil it will be *pillaikal* or *pillaimār*. It was originally a title of distinction granted by the king on his henchmen as a mark of royal favour, but it is now the most common appellation of a Nayar in Travancore.

*Kālam* (l. 10) is the *taḍbhava* form of the Sanskrit word *kāhala* which means a trumpet (*tiruchchinnam*) and blowing on it is a necessary item of service in temples cf., वीणाभेरिसृङ्गाहलकलागीतञ्च ब्रूयं तथा'. This horn is generally sounded before the processions of gods, kings and gurus as a mark of honour, like a herald's trumpet. It occurs as *kākālam* in line 353 of the Tiruvalla plates, and that form is nearer to the Sanskrit original.

*Vēṇāṭṭu-nīlal-manichchamāy-variyra-ālvāḷi-koḍuttu* (l. 13) needs explanation. *Manichcham* is in the first place a *taḍbhava* of *manushyam*, and is often used to express 'a servant or a subordinate' especially of a king. *Nīlal* which means 'shadow' is here the protecting shadow of a royal parasol and therefore of the king; (cf., ചടക്കിൽ വെച്ചയാക്കി = appointed by the king). *Vēṇāṭṭu-nīlal-manichcham*<sup>1</sup> thus refers to a subordinate officer of the Vēṇāḍu ruler; and the meaning of the whole expression is 'handing over to the individual who comes in the capacity of an official of the Vēṇāḍu king'.

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 71.

2 *Attālam* and *Muttālam* occur elsewhere in the sense of 'evening and morning offerings'.

3 ചടക്കിൽ വെച്ചയാക്കി = appointed by the king. — *Uppumilāsanidēsam*.

4 ചെറുതും വലിയതും and ചെറുതും വലിയതും occur in the Tiruvalli plates of Bhaskara-Ravi! — *Ind. Ant.*, XX—290.

The reading *oppu-kalippu munṛōrāṇḍil* in line 26, as given in the *olai*, is not free from doubt. What is intended to be conveyed seems, however, to be the following: In all Malabar temples the worshipping priests and their immediate subordinates are generally left in charge only for a fixed term of from three to six years at a time, while another batch from some other temple will thereafter take their place, thus maintaining a regular rotation in the personnel of a particular temple. This temple may have also been similarly constituted, the temple servants being liable to a shift once in three years. The following instance may be compared:—

‘சாந்திசெய்யுமவரை முவாண்டில் மிக வைக்கப்பெறு’ — Tirukkāṭṭānam record.”

Line 31 furnishes a curiously misread expression ‘*pariparirādar-varu-ayatala*’ and its interpretation is therefore only tentative. The full sentence reads thus:

‘பட்டாசுக்கொள்ள தொம்மின்னும் ஸ்ரீகோவில்க்கும் மொறொத்தம் (?) வரு ம்பொழ்தவிடே கூடி நின்னு பரிபிராசுர் வரு இறதல்’—

*Pariparirādar* may be a mistaken transcription for *pariyariyādu*, which in correct Tamil will be *parikarikkādu* derived from the Sanskrit word *parihāra* (remedy), while the last word which has been read as *ayatala* may be *arudu*, which is the Malayalam form of the Tamil word *aridu* or *ariyādu* and signifies ‘what ought not to be’. The sentence may therefore mean that ‘if any hindrance or damage were to occur to the temple holdings or to the temple itself, the *ārāṁmakkārar* should at once assemble and should not remain without setting right the trouble’. The expression *ariyarudāde* occurring in line 4 of the Kollur plates may be compared. *Moṟōttam* is unintelligible.

The point which calls for special note in the present document is the mention of several royal personages of Venāḍu, viz.,

No.	Name.	Text-line
1.	Vira Udayamārttāṇḍavarman-Tiruvāḍi	2, 34, 56.
2.	Vira Adichchavarman-Tiruvāḍi	3.
3.	Maṇikaṇṭhaṇ-Māḷhaviyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Kīḷappērūr	14.
4.	Maṇikaṇṭhaṇ-Umaiyanṇiyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi	16.
5.	Kōḍai-Āvaṇiyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Kīḷappērūr	18.
6.	Devadaraṇ-Āvaṇiyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Tiruppāppūr	19.
7.	Kīraḷaṇ-Ādichchavarman of Mullakkal (Kollam 304.)	58, 62.

From their wording, the documents appear to be a cumulative catalogue of the different endowments made to the temple of Tiruppārkkadal-Bhattāraka

1. *Tam. Archæ. Series*, Vol. II, p. 65.

2. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 40.

3. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 173 *et. seq.*

at Kīlīmāpūr by successive kings of the Travancore dynasty and engraved on copper at some later date, which must be anterior at least to the last quarter of the 4th century of the Kollam era, the period of rule of Vīra Rāmaṇ-Kēraḷavarman. That the Māmballi plates published on pages 76 to 80 of Volume IV of the Archaeological Series may also be of such a character seems possible, and although Vīra-Kēraḷavarman's name alone occurs in that document, that set may have contained, in its entirety, the particulars of other endowments made to the Vīṅkōraḷapuram temple by earlier and later donors, royal or private. Similar instances are not wanting when the previous benefactions to temples were recorded collectively in the same copper-plate set to facilitate easier reference and also perhaps to ensure greater permanence. The Tiruvalla plates<sup>1</sup> and the Kollūr-maḍam plates<sup>2</sup> are such examples, while the Āṅṅūr plate<sup>3</sup> of Kollam 821 is another later instance, wherein the reason, *viz.*, a fire accident, that necessitated such a consolidation of the earlier documents has also been referred to at the end.

At the beginning of this inscription, it is stated that Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi was the *yuvārāja* or crown-prince (*ilaṅgūru-vāḷunnarūḷiya*) at the time of that record, *i. e.*, in Kollam 343 (Māsha 13, Thursday, Uttirām, trayōchāṣi-tithi). This was a year in which Jupiter stood in Makara and as the same Mārttāṇḍavarman was still the administrative head of the *ilaṅgūru* according to the Tiruvāṭṭāṅṅū inscription, the date of the latter, which was on other grounds fixed to be Kollam 348 in which Jupiter stood in Karkāṭaka, receives further confirmation from this record also. This prince was a reigning king at the time of the Kollūr-maḍam plates (Kollam 364) and the Tiruvāyimbāḍi bilingual record whose date was fixed as Kollam 371<sup>4</sup>, because it was a year in which Jupiter was in the Karkāṭaka-rāśi and a signatory of this record was found to figure in a record of Vīra-Rāmaṇavarman of Kollam 371. But if the last word of the Sanskrit portion of the inscription is taken to represent a chronogram and worked out, the result obtained is a Kali date which corresponded to Kollam 359, which was also a year in which Jupiter occupied the same rāśi<sup>1</sup>. Thus this king Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman may be considered to have reigned from at least Kollam 359 to 364 and a few years more, the limit on that side being Kollam 371, when his successor Vīra-Rāmaṇavarman had already ascended the throne.

Of the kings mentioned above, No. 2 Vīra Ādicchechavarman-Tiruvaḍi appears to have been a predecessor of Udayamārttāṇḍavarman from the way in which he is referred to in the record and from the fact that the gifts of lands endowed by the former were regulated by the latter during the period of his heirapparentship. As he has also been mentioned expressly as ruling over Vēṇāḍu (*vēṇāḍu-vāḷunnarūḷipra*), it is possible that he was the reigning king when Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman was the *yuvārāja* in charge of the *ilaṅgūru* dominions. His

1. *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 46 *et. seq.*

2. *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 154, 8.

3. *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 27.

4. *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 48. Mr. T. K. Joseph, (thinks with Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai (*Ind. Art.*, XXVI, p. 109) that *māṅṅayātmaśamāyāh* works out to Kollam 359.

name is new to history and no details are therefore available as to when he ruled and for many years. From the Puravaseri<sup>1</sup> inscription it is learnt that Vira Ravivarman ruled over Vēṇāḍu till atleast Kollam 337 and even after allowing him some years more and for a Vīrakēraḷa<sup>2</sup> (339-42), there is still an interval of over 15 years to Vira-Udayamārttāṇḍavarman, who is known to have been in charge of the *iḷaṅḡūru* in the Kollam years 341, 343 and 348 and was the actual reigning king only from Kollam 359 or 364. It is just possible that the Āḍityavarman of this record may have to be located in this period.

The last name occurring at the end of the available portion of the set is Kēraḷaṅ-Āḍicheḷavarman of Mullakkal, whose gift of lands yielding 100 *para* of paddy is stated to have been made on the 1st day of Mēḍam of the Kollam year 304 (expressed in words). In the double name (*irattaiṇṇēr*) of Kēraḷaṅ-Āḍityavarman, Kēraḷaṅ represents, according to the custom of Malabar, the name of the uncle and Āḍityavarman that of the individual himself. From the Chōḷapuram inscription<sup>3</sup> we know that Vira-Kēraḷavarman was the Vēṇāḍu king in Kollam 302 and it is just possible that the Āḍityavarman of the present record may have been his nephew. In the absence however of any distinguishing epithets such as *Śrī*, *Vīra*, *Piḷḷaiyār* or *Tiruvāḍi*, it is not safe to raise the individual to that dignity, the *varman*-title of his name connoting only his *kshatriya* pedigree and nothing more. He may even have been a private individual, an aristocrat perhaps, hailing from Mullakkal. According to the 'Suchindram inscriptions' Kōḍai-Kēraḷavarman was on the Vēṇāḍu throne between the years 320 and 325 after the king Vira Kēraḷa, mentioned above.

Nos. 3 and 4 have to be taken as princes, the sons respectively of the queens Mādhavi and Umaiyanmai, both of whom were in all probability sisters of Vira-Rāṁavarman of Kīḷappērūr, who was the king of Travancore from about Kollam 371 (A. D. 1195). It is noteworthy that the same suffix *āya* (*āṇa*) is used here in *Umaiyanmaiāya* and *Mādhaviyāya* as a wrong substitute for *ya* to denote, as suggested on page 69 of Volume IV, the parentage of the princes mentioned thereafter. These names remind one of the names of Gōtanīputra and Vāsishṭīputra of the northern kings. Manikāṇṭha-Umaiyanmaiāya Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvāḍi may refer to Rāṁa-Kēraḷavarman who was the successor of Manikāṇṭha-Rāṁavarman, but it is more probable that his brother who figures in the Kadimāṅ-gulam<sup>4</sup> epigraph as the consecrator of the image of the god in that Śiva temple is evidently meant, because Devadarāṅ-Kēraḷavarman is separately mentioned. The other nephew of Manikāṇṭha-Rāṁavarman, namely, Manikāṇṭha-Mādhaviyāya Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvāḍi, the son of Bāpi-Mādhavi, is a prince whose name is disclosed for the first time in this record; but his distinctive name is not mentioned.

The next pair of royal personages mentioned is Kōḍai-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvāḍi of Kīḷappērūr and Dēvadarāṅ-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvāḍi of Tiruppāp-pūr. In the Māmbaḷḷi plates of Dēvadarāṅ-Kēraḷavarman, the name of that

1 *Ind. Ant.* XXIV, p. 258.

2 *Proc. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 253.

3 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 17.

4 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 20-21.

5 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 69-70.

king is stated in full as Kīlappērūr Vīra Dēvadarāṇ-Āvaṇiyāṇa Piḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi<sup>1</sup>, where the title *Āvaṇiyāṇa* has been considered to refer probably to Śravaṇa, the star of nativity of the king and Kīlappērūr to the *illam* with which he was connected, whereas the present record connects his name with the Tiruppāppār family also. If Kōdai-Āvaṇiyāṇa Piḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi of Kīlappērūr is possibly identical with Dēvadarāṇ-Āvaṇi, it may furnish the detail that Kēraḷavarman had also the title of Kōdai, which is often used as a dynastic name of the Kēraḷa kings. It may not be correct to consider him as different from Dēvadarāṇ-Āvaṇi, as the common initial star 'Āvaṇi' of both these princes points to their identity, unless it be that Kōdai and Dēvadarāṇ were twins, or if different, they had a horoscopic coincidence in their star of nativity.

It is unfortunate that this record happens to be incomplete and if the missing leaves of this as well as of the incomplete Māmbaḷli record of Dēvadarāṇ-Kēraḷavarman could be procured, they will be valuable for setting aright some of the doubtful points in the history of the 4th century of the Kollam era.

The record under consideration is divisible into a few sections, each section specifying the provisions for a distinct item of service or recording the gifts made therefor by a separate donor.

#### *First section.*

The first record opens with the date—the 12th solar day of the month of Mēsha of Kollam 343, when Jupiter stood in Makara, corresponding to a Thursday, Uttirāṇ, tīrayōdaśī, when Śrī Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman-tiruvaḍi was administering (as heir-apparent) the *iḷaṅgūru* dominions of Vēṇāḍu and states that he fixed the scale of expenditure in the temple of Tiruppārkkāḍal-Bhaṭṭāraka in respect of the conduct of the daily *baḷi*-ceremony and other expenses connected with god's worship and the yearly festivals of the temple.

The village of Kīlīmāṇūr with the forests, arable lands and compound sites included in it, was granted by Śrī Vīra-Adichechavarman Tiruvaḍi who was the ruler of Vēṇāḍu, for the expenses connected with the feeding of brahmins or with the annual temple festivities (*brahmaseam* or *brahmōtsavam*) and ten individuals were elected for the management of the temple affairs from among those who were already attached to other important temples. They were:

1. [Anantaṇ]-Kunṇaṇ of Puduvaḷkkasthānam from Parayūr,
2. Śuvākarāṇ-Dāmōḍaraṇ of Kūṇṇambāḷli from Mūlikkaḷam,
3. [Śēṇḍaṇ]-Dēvaṇ of Vāvukāḍu from Ayirāṇikkaḷam,
4. Dēva-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Vāraṇakōṭṭam from Iruṇṇāḍikkūḍal,
5. Dēvaṇ-Kōvaṇ of Kuḷaṇṇāḍu from Peruvaṇam,
6. Nārāyaṇaṇ-Śrīkumāraṇ of Pīṇaṇṇāḍu,

1 Z. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 74.

2 It may be noted that *Āvaṇi* is the name of Simha month and of the star Sarvishṭhā, not Śravaṇa.

மருவியகாட்புள்ளுமக்களுள் பதவை புள்ளு

விரு மாவனியவிட்டம்—

*Chulāmaṇi*, v. 77.

7. Rudraṇ-Śaṅkaraṇ of Vaṅjippulai, a *Mādambi* from Cheṅgannūr,
8. Dāmōdaraṇ-Kriṣṇaṇ of Vilakkilimaṅgalam from Tiruvallavāḷ,
9. Vikkīrama-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Makilaṅjēri, a *Mādambi*, and
10. Śatti Vikkīramaṇ - Śatti of Kūnugaṅjēri from Āṇamṇa.

After setting apart lands in Parappunādu at the rate of plots (having the sowing capacity) of six *kālam* (of paddy seed) and also one male and one female servant for each of these, the balance of land including forest, arable lands, compound sites and of labourers was left with them subject to the supervision of the king's representative; and from the *rakṣābhōgam* accruing from these lands provision was made for the payment of 100 *para* of paddy per year by the *para* holding 10 *nāḷi* to the *uvachehan* blowing on the *kālam* (pipe).

100 *para* of paddy which had to be given per year to the gods of the Ayirūr and Pūllel temples was ordered to be collected at the rate of 10 *para* from each of the ten individuals who were in the enjoyment of the *paḍaḡāram* lands of six *kālam* sowing capacity.

100 *para* of paddy per year which had to be collected from Kīṟṟaḍichchuvaram was also arranged to be paid to the king's agents (*kōyimmār*) at the end of the festival days in the month of Meḍam and receipt obtained therefor.

In this manner was the cadjan order of the temple transactions written up and deposited in the temple treasury (*bhaṇḍāra*).

This apparently finishes the first record, but before passing on to the next section it may be of interest to note that, if the similarity in the names of persons coming from the same place can count for anything, three out of the ten persons mentioned above seem to have had some relatives figuring in the Huzur Office Plates of the Tiruvalla temple, (*T. A. S. II-173*). The following pairs of names may be noticed:

<i>Village.</i>	<i>Tiruvalla Plates.</i>	<i>Kilimanūr Record.</i>
Vāvnkāḍu (Vēḷakāḍu)	Nārāyaṇaṇ-Śendaṇ	Śendaṇ-Dēvaṇ
Piṇaṇṇāḍu	Kūmaran-Śendaṇ	Nārāyaṇaṇ-Śrīkūmaran
Vilakkilimaṅgalam	Kriṣṇaṇ-Dēvaṇ	Dāmōdiran-Kriṣṇaṇ
Makilaṅjēri	Dēvaṇ-Vikkīramaṇ	Vikkīramaṇ-Nārāyaṇaṇ

As the second group of individuals lived in or some years before Kollam 343, the persons figuring as donors to the Tiruvalla temple who may have been removed from them by one or, at the most, two generations may therefore have lived at the end of the 3rd century of the Kollam era, which period does not clash with the date assignable to the engraving of the Tiruvalla plates from palaeographical considerations.

#### *Second section.*

A second document states that the provision of 3 *para* of paddy required for the daily expenses of the temple was to met from the following sources:



1. from the lands and sites in Kārittunṅai, the fields called Iḍamaṇ and Āyiramaṇ in Nāvāikkulaṇ and half of Neḍumpuram-paraṃbu, which were given to Maṇikaṇṭhaṇ-Mādhaviyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Kīḷappērūr as freehold (*kārāḷma*), 360 *para* of paddy per year was to be measured at the rate of one *para* of good paddy per day;
2. the *bhaṇḍāra* paid 240 *achēhu* on certain lands in Kaḍamba-nāḍu and Perumaṇṇūr belonging to Maṇikaṇṭhaṇ-Umaiyaṇmaiya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Kīḷappērūr and from these lands 240 *para* of paddy had to be measured;
3. for another amount of 240 *achēhu* paid on the lands called Paḷai-kkuḷaṇ, Neḍumaṇ in Kōṭṭāṇkarai, Aruvāchehēri in Kāttāṇmattala and Periya-anumuni in Paḷḷaikkal belonging to Kōḍai-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Kīḷappērūr, 240 *para* of paddy had to be measured; and
4. for a third equal amount of 240 *achēhu* paid on the lands called Kurichehēy . . . . . and Muṭṭakkāḍu belonging to Dēva-daraṇ-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvāḍi of Tiruppāppār, 240 *para* of paddy had to be measured.

Thus with this aggregate quantity of 1080 *para* of paddy, it was ordered that a daily dole of 3 *para* of paddy should be measured so as to provide 48 *nāḷi* of rice by the *irattamaḍai* (measure) of the temple; and from it the following scale of distribution of rice was fixed:

<i>Items of expenditure.</i>	<i>nāḷi.</i>	<i>uri.</i>	
the <i>mēḷṣānti</i> (worshipping priest)	4	1	
one <i>kīḷṣānti</i> (his assistant)	3	1	
another <i>kīḷṣānti</i> (do)	3		
<i>tirukkūḍa</i> (umbrella-bearer;)	2		
<i>śrībali</i> and <i>vaiśvadeva</i> offerings	3	1	
morning ( <i>pūari</i> ) offerings	5		} 31 <i>nāḷi</i> + 1 <i>uri</i>
midday ( <i>uḷchi</i> ) offerings	21	1	
night ( <i>attāḷam</i> ) offerings	5		
Total 48 <i>nāḷi.</i>			

The total daily offerings prepared with 31 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of rice, as noted above, were also ordered to be distributed among the temple servants in the following scale:

	<i>nāḷi.</i>	<i>uri.</i>
the <i>vāriyaṇ</i>	5	
the flower supplier ( <i>tiruppaḷḷittāyam</i> )	4	
the watchmen ( <i>tirumānikāraḷ</i> )	3	
the woman-servant ( <i>tēraḍichchi</i> ) who pounded the paddy and carried the hand lamps	2	
the drummers ( <i>uachchar</i> ) who provided the seven items of service during <i>śrībali</i> , at 2 <i>nāḷi</i> + 1 <i>uri</i> each	17	1
Total	31	1

*Third section.*

It was also stipulated that there should be a change in the temple personnel once in every three years.

The following amounts were also ordered to be collected, probably as entrance fees (*aḍiyara* or *pāḍakāṇṇikka*), from

	<i>achchu.</i>
the <i>mēlsānti-nambi</i>	2
the <i>kīlsānti</i>	1
the <i>vāriyaṇ</i>	1
the <i>pallittāyam</i>	1
Total	5

and this amount of five *achchu* was to be utilised for the purchase of or repairs to the temple utensils and other wastages, without allowing the *kōyimmārs* and *ūrālars* who superintended the temple affairs to utilise any portion of it for their own use.

This expenditure had to be looked after by batches of two persons for each year. It was also ordered that if the above expenses were not properly administered, the incumbents of the year will have to vacate their posts in the *ūrālma* (committee of management), and that they should also settle any slight disputes or entanglements that may occur with reference to the temple holdings or to the temple itself.

The ten members (*ūrālars*) were thus divided into five batches of two members each, which had to hold office in turns for a term of one year:

	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Line.</i>
First year	1. Śuvākarāṇ-Āmōḍarāṇ of Kuṟṟampalli	4, 31
	2. Nārāyaṇaṇ-Śrīkumāraṇ of Piṇaṇṇāḍu	5, 31
Second year	1. Dēva-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Vārapakōṭṭam	5, 32
	2. Dēvaṇ-Kōvaṇ of Kuḷaṇṇāḍu	5, 32
Third year	1. [Anantaṇ]-Kuṇṇaṇ of Puduvaḷkkasthānaṇ	4, 32
	2. [Śeṇḍaṇ]-Dēvaṇ of Vāvukāḍu	5, 32
Fourth year	1. Āmōḍiraṇ-Kṛṣṇaṇ of Vilakkilimaṅgalaṇ	6, 32
	2. Śatti-Vikkiramaṇ of Kumukaṇḍēri	7, 33
Fifth year	1. Vikkiramaṇ-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Makilaṇḍēri	6, 33
	2. Rudraṇ-Śaṅkaraṇ of Vaṇḍippuḷai	6, 33

and they had to administer the temple expenditure in the aforesaid manner, their eldest sons succeeding them in the temple management on their absence or demise.

This portion of the document seems to be contemporaneous with the first section, as the same ten members are mentioned in both of them.

*Fifth section.*

Then follows an incomplete passage referring to a gift of land in Nagarūr having the sowing capacity of 13 *para* of paddy, which was purchased by king Vira-Udayamārttāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi from a certain Kumara-Nārāyaṇa of Śeṅgaḷunūr-panḡalam, *viz.*,

Kīlkuṇḍārōḍi of the sowing capacity of 10 *para* of seed and 3 *para* of land in Mēkkānattūr.

The cadjan leaf then closes with the remark that the above was transcribed from the first four sheets of a set of copper plates.

*Sixth section.*

The sixth leaf begins with the note that the fifth copper-plate was missing at the time of the transcription itself and that the further copy is from the sixth plate of the set, the subject matter of which is in continuation of what must have been incised on the missing sheet.

It gives a catalogue of certain pieces of land which must have been given to the temple:—

<i>Name of place.</i>	<i>Capacity</i>		<i>Remarks.</i>
	<i>para.</i>	<i>idāṇ.</i>	
Enpilam	11		
Tottikkōḍu	5		
Maṇṇadi	7		
Tadaṇṇōḍu	12		
Vettikkōḍu	4		
Vettiyattukaṇḍam	1	2½	
Perumbaravūr	1		
Śeṅgūru	10		
Seṟunāvēli	5		
Muṇḍakkal	3		
Seṟukaṇḍaman	1		
Kīrttiṁaṇḡalam	10		Occurs also in the Mitra-nandapuram plate.
Aṇḡal	5		Perhaps a village in Pattanāpuram taluk.

In all, lands having the sowing capacity of 107 *para* of paddy were left with the temple officials (*dēvarkanmis*) after deducting the old dues and *mēlppādi*, to provide for the expenses of *tachchu* in the temple of Tirupparḡkaḍal-bhaṭṭāraka. *Tachchu* may be Skt. *Dīkṣhā* as in the word *Tachchuḍaiya-kaimmal*, the sacerdotal dignitary in charge of certain temples. As the total of the above items gives only about 75½ *para*, the details relating to the balance of 31½ *para* of land appear to have been lost in the missing fifth plate.

It is further stated that the *olai*-document relating to the above was deposited in the *bhaṇḍāra*, and it must therefore have been a separate record by itself.

*Seventh section.*

This section begins with the date Kollam 341, Chingam 1. It records that the following pieces of land were bought by the subordinate officials of Virā-Udaiyamārttāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi and given as *kīlśānti-virutti*:

<i>Name of land.</i>	<i>Capacity in para.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Ānāḍu-jīvitam-Mīliyūr	20	Ānāḍu is a pakudi in Neḍu-maṅgaḍ taluk.
Vembāykunṇam-jīvitam-Kaṇḍamaṅgalam	10	Probably Vembāyam in the same taluk.
Nerpāḍu-jīvitam-Kīlmaṇa	10	
Land of Kaṇḍaṇ-Ravi of Melachchēri	10	
Mēvūr	10	Now called Mēvūrkkal in Chirayinkil taluk.
Ānāḍu-Śeṇvaḷa	10	
Total	70	

*Eighth section.*

This is dated on the 1st day of Mēḍam of the Kollam year 304 (in words) and relates to the lands in the eastern Chiraiyūrkkal which had been leased out under Kēraḷan-Ādichechavarman of Mūllakkal, namely,

<i>Name of land.</i>	<i>Capacity in para.</i>
Aḍimayālakkōḍu	15
Mūllakkal	50
Mēṭṭukkūḷi	20
Total	85

From these lands, 100 *para* of paddy had to be given to the officers (*adhikārār*) and in exchange for the lands in Marudūr-Muṇṭōḍi in Chirayūrkkal which had been previously endowed as *mēlśānti-virutti*, 100 *para* of paddy had also to be measured out in addition and the temple-servants (*dēvarkarmi*) were directed to take written receipts for these payments.

The penalty that was fixed for non-payment was double the quantity (at default) for the first occasion, double the default and an additional fine for two occasions of failure, while the punishment for remissness on three consecutive occasions is not explicit here. In other instances it is generally eviction of the tenants.

This transaction which had been written on cadjan and deposited in the temple treasury had originally constituted another separate document.

*Ninth section.*

Only one line of this section is now available and the year of this transaction is not also noted, only the first digit 3 of the Kollam year having been copied by the scribe. The following names occur in this line of writing:

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Kāḍavakkuttūniala	
Ḥambela	This may be Ḥamba in Chirayinkil Taluk.
Dēvaṇ-Ravi of Tiladamaṅgalam	Tiladamaṅgalam occurs also in the Kaviyūr epigraph and Tiruvalla plates.

The record then stops abruptly in the middle of the 65th line, either because the further sheet of the set was not available or the transcription was not continued further. If the eighth sheet had not been available to the copyist, he will have entered a remark to that effect, but he has not done so.

The following additional proper names occur in the record:

<i>Name of place.</i>	<i>Text line.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Āraṇṇiḷa	7	is a hamlet in the Tiruvulla taluk.
Āṅṅuvāchcheri	18	is in Kuḷakkaḍa-pakudi in the Kottarakara taluk.
Ayirūr	11	is a hamlet in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Ayirāṇikulam	4	is probably Ernakulam.
Cheṅṅaṇṇūr	5	is a taluk of the Quilon Division.
Chiraiyūrkkal	58	is in the Kummil pakudi of the Kottarakara taluk.
Iruṇṇādikkuḍal	5	is a town in Cochin State.
Iruṇṇalattūr		may be Iruṇṇalur in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kaḍambanāḍu	16	is in the Perungulam-pakudi of the Nedumnaṅgaḍ taluk.
Kamugaṇjēri	7	is in the Pattanapuram pakudi of the same taluk.
Kaṇḍamaṅgalam	53	
Karichchēy	20	is probably Karichchāyil in the Āvanavanjēri pakudi of the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kāṭṭamattala	18	
Kiḷappērūr	9	is a hamlet in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kiḷimāpūr	3	is a pakudi in the same taluk.

<i>Name of place.</i>	<i>Text line.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Kīṭṭadiichuvaram	12	occurs in the Quilon inscription of Kollam 278.
Koṭṭarakkarai	18	is a railway station on the Quilon-Shencotta line.
Kulaṅgaḍu	5	
Kunnalattūr	50	may be only Kunnattūr or Kuntallūr in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kūṭṭamballi	4	
Makalanjēri	6	occurs in the Tiruvalla plates.
Mēlachchēri		
Melkāpattūr	35	
Miliyūr	52, 56	
Mūlikkaḷam	4	is a village in the Alangad taluk.
Mullakkal	58	
Munḍakkal		may be Mudakkal
Muttakkaḍu	20	may be a mistake for Muttakkaḍam or Muttakkaḍagam near Kilimānuur.
Nagarūr	35	is adjacent to Kilimanur.
Nāvaykkaḷam	15	is a village near Āttingal in the Chirayinkil taluk: (Tirunāvāy, the famous Vaishnava <i>divyadēśam</i> is in South Malabar).
Neduman	18	is probably the village in Nedumangad taluk.
Nedumpiaram	15	is in Chetṭivilākam-pakudi of the Tri-var drum taluk.
Paravūr	4	is a village in the Quilon taluk and is a railway station.
Paḷaikkūḷam		If this is an incorrect rendering of Paḷaiyakunṅam, it is near Kilimanur.
Paḷikkal	18	is a village in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Pipaṇṇāḍu	5	
Parappunāḍu	7	may be a mistake for Parappaṅgōḍ in the Nedumangad taluk. Parappa-nāḍu is in Malabar.
Perumappūr	16	Peruman is in the Quilon taluk.
Pernvanam	8	is the one in the Cochin State.
Puduvākkusthānam	4	

<i>Name of place.</i>	<i>Text line.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Pullel	11	now called Pallayil in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Seṅgalunīrmaṅgalam	34	occurs in the Mambalḷi plate.
Tiladamaṅgalam	64	occurs in Kaviyār inscription and in the Tiruvalla plates.
Tiruppāppār	64	is a village 10 miles north of Tiruvandrum.
Tiruvallavāḷ	6	is the headquarters of Tiruvalla taluk.
Vaṇḷipula	6	is in the Kottarakkai taluk.
Vāṇakkoṭṭam	5	
Vāvukāḍu	5	may be a mistake for Vēḷakāḍu of the Tiruvalla plates.
Vilakkilimaṅgalam	6	occurs in the Tiruvalla plates.

Text.<sup>1</sup>*First plate: second side.*

- 1 கொல்லம் நாசுந மாண்டெ<sup>2</sup> மகரத்தில் விபாழம் நின்ற மெடநாயறு ப-  
ந்திரண்டு சென்ற விபாழமாண்ட உத்திரவும் பக்கம்<sup>3</sup> திரபொதகியும் இ-  
ந்நாளால் வெணுட்டு இளங்கூறு வாழ்ந்தருளிய
- 2 ஸ்ரீவிரதேவ<sup>4</sup> மார்த்தாண்டவர்மம் திருவடி கீழ்<sup>5</sup> மேசிலவினு திட்டம் பண்-  
ணிச்செருளிய திருப்பாஸ்க்கடல் பட்டாசுர்க்கு<sup>6</sup> அமச்சிலவும் நிச்ச-  
னனிக்கும்<sup>7</sup> பிரம்மவீத்தினும் கற்பமிச்ச பரி-
- 3 சாகிது [1\*] ஐடி திருக்கொவிக்கல் பிரம்மவீத்தினு வெணு வாழ்ந்தருளி-  
ன்ற ஸ்ரீவிர ஆதிச்சவர்மம் திருவடி கற்பமிச்ச கொடுத்தருளிய கினிமா-  
னார் பூமியுந் காடும் கரையும் கரபுரயிடத்திடு மானி-
- 4 பெடம்<sup>8</sup> ஐடி முக்கால்வட்டத்து ஊராழ்மங்கு கொண்டபெர் வரபூர்க்கு<sup>9</sup>

1 Registered as No. 11 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 n. e.

2 Read 'மாண்டை'.

3 The *paksha* is not specified as either 'dark' or 'bright'; *paksha* also means simply the *side*.

4 Evidently a misreading for உதய<sup>5</sup>.

5 Read perhaps கடசிலவினு வரி கடச்சிலவும்.

6 Read நிச்சபலிக்கும் or நிச்சண்டைக்கும்.

7 This may be a mistake for மாணியம்.

8 Read பறபூர்.

<sup>1</sup> புதுவாச்சதான நதங்குந்தனும் முழிக்களத்தினு கூற்றம்பள்ளிச் சு-  
பாகரக் தாமொதானும் அமிராணிகளத்தினு வாவுகாட்டு

- 6 <sup>2</sup> திராதந் தெவனும் யிருங்காடிக்குடல்க்கு வாரணைகொட்டத்து தெவநா-  
ராயணனும் பெருவனத்தினும் <sup>3</sup> குலாங்காட்டு தெவடெ<sup>4</sup> கொடனும்<sup>5</sup>  
செங்கந் தூர்க்கு பெணங்காடு நாராயணன் ஸ்ரீகுமாரனும்

*Second plate: first side.*

- 6 செ யாரு மாடம்பிகளில் வஞ்சிப்புழெய் ருத்திரன் சங்கரனும் திருவல்லா-  
வாழ்க்கு விலக்கிவிமங்கலத்து தாமொதிரன் கிருட்டினும் செ யார் மாட-  
ம்பிகளில் மகிழ்ச்செரி விக்கிரம நாராயணனும்
- 7 ஆறம்முளக்கு சுழகஞ்செரிக் கண்டி <sup>6</sup> விக்கிரமஞ்சத்தியும் <sup>7</sup> கூடய பெர் ப-  
த்தினும் பெர் ஒந்தினு நிலம் அதுகவழும் இதின்டுத்த பரம்பநாட்டின்  
செம்மெ<sup>8</sup> ஒள்ள காடும் கரயுடெ<sup>9</sup> கரபுரயிடழும்
- 8 பெர் ஒந்தினு ஆணை ஒன்றும் பெண்ணை ஒன்றும் ஆகயில் <sup>10</sup> அதுபதிக்கல-  
ழும் ஆன் <sup>11</sup> ஒருபதும் நீக்கி ஒள்ள நிலம் எப்பொப்பட்டதும் காடுங் க-  
ரயுடெ<sup>12</sup> கரபுரயிடவும் ஆறும் கூட
- 9 கீழ்ப்பெருர் நாடு வறியிடெம் முத்து<sup>13</sup> செ முக்கால்வட்டத் ததிகாரம் ஒ-  
ண்டாயிருந்நருளும் கொயிம்மாரு காராழம்மயாக அதிகரிச்சுகொண்டு  
முக்கால்வட்டத்தினு மெலி வசூரபாக-
- 10 மாக்கி <sup>14</sup> ராடிச்சமர்ந்து மாதெவர்க்கு ஸ்ரீவெலிக்கு காளம் <sup>15</sup> பாதின்ற <sup>16</sup> வபச்-  
ரன்னு ஆண்டு வாயும் கொடுப்பான் ஸம்மதிச்ச நெல் பதினாழிப்பறயால்  
நாறுபறயு(ம்)ங் கொடுத்து<sup>17</sup> இத்தொம்மும்

- 1 This occurs again in line 32 as 'புதுவாச்சதானம்' நதங்குந்தனும்; but the correct word seems to be புதுவாச்சத்தானம்: அனத்தம் குந்தனும். புதுவாச்சதானம் may be புதுவாழ்க்கை தானம்.
- 2 The current word for which திராதந் is evidently a mistaken reading cannot be guessed; it may be செந்தன் and வாவுகாடு may be வேழகாடு.
- 3 This name occurs in line 32 as குலாங்காட்டு, which seems to be correct.
- 4 Read செவடெ; டெ in தெவடெ is evidently a misreading for க் and has similarly been misread in several other places.
- 5 கொடனும் may more correctly be கொவதனும்.
- 6 This is probably செரிக் சுத்திவிக்கிரமஞ் சுத்தியும், compare line 33.
- 7 Read கூடய.
- 8 It occurs also as செம்மெ in l. 30 of the Manabali plates of Vīra Kēraḷavarman.
- 9 Read கரையு, vide note 6 above.
- 10 Read ஆகயில் அதுபதி.
- 11 Probably இருபதும்.
- 12 Read கரையு.
- 13 The correct reading is doubtful, perhaps it is கூடவறியிடெ (= the temple threshold) காமத்த or நாடுவறியிடெ (= office) காமத்து or கூடவறியிடெ (= country-courtyard).
- 14 Read ரட்சிச்சிருந்து.
- 15 Read வபத்த.
- 16 Read வபச்சந்த.
- 17 Read கொடுத்து.



## Second plate: second side.

- 11 அதிகரிச்ச கொன்சிதாக கற்பிச்ச [1\*] கிளிமானூர் பூமி மெப்பெர்ப்பட்ட  
தின்ம[2\*]மனும் அயிரூர் தெவர்க்கும் புல்லெ[3\*]த் தெவர்க்கும் ஆ-  
ன்டுவரயுக் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமுந் நெல் நூறுபறையும் இந்நிலம் 'நடகாரம்'
- 12 கொண்டதிகரிக்கின்ற பெர்<sup>2</sup>வந்தும் அறுகலம் நிலத்தினு நால்பதின்  
பறெ "செதுநெல்" கொடுத்து வருவிதாகவும் கற்பிச்ச [1\*] கிற்றடிச்ச  
வரத்தினு கொடுக்கும் நெல் நூறுபறையும் ஆன்டுவரயும் மெடஞா-
- 13 மறு 'திர்நாஸ்கடல் பட்டாசகர் திரு[வா]ள்<sup>4</sup> [வா]ள்ப் பின்றெ[வா]ள்  
வெணுட்டு நிழல் மணிச்சமாய் வரின்ற "அருளவழி கொடுத்து குறியும்  
கொண்டு வருவிதாகவும் கற்பிச்ச<sup>5</sup>கிட மெல்லாம்<sup>6</sup> செயல் ஒலெ  
மெலெ-
- 14 முதி ஸீபண்டாரத்திலிட்டிது [11\*] செ முக்கால்வட்டத்து<sup>7</sup> "திச்சலவுக்கு  
வெண்டு. நெல் முந்நாப் பறக்கும்<sup>10</sup> கீழ்ப்பெருர் மணிகண்டம் மா தனி-  
யாய பின்னையார் திருவடிக்கு காராழ்மம் கொடுத்த காரித்தும<sup>11</sup> -
- 15 ம பூமியும் புராதமும் மற்றந் நாவாயிக்களத்தில் யிடெமண்ணும் ஆயிரப-  
ண்ணு<sup>12</sup> மெப்பெர்ப்பட்டத்திம் மெலும் நெடும்<sup>13</sup> ஆறும் பரம்பில் பா-  
தியும் கூடெ நித்தஞ்<sup>14</sup> செவத்துவ நெல் ஒருபறெ செயிவதாக<sup>15</sup>

## Third plate: first side.

- 16 தரண்டால் கொடுப்பான் கற்பிச்ச உ. நாகுடு<sup>16</sup>ம் [1\*] செ மணிக  
ண்ட அமய்யுமம்மெ<sup>17</sup> ஆய பின்னையார் திருவடிக்கு ஒள்ள கீழ்ப்பெருர்  
உடய கடம்பனும் பெருமண்ணும்
- 17 மற்ற மெப்பெர்ப்பட்டத்திம்<sup>18</sup> மெலும் பண்டாரத்தில் தின்றெடுத்து கொடு-  
த்த அச்சு யிருநூற்றிநால்பதின்னும்<sup>19</sup> செயத்துமாறு கல்ப்பிச்ச நெல்  
யிருநூற்றிநால்பதனு பறையும் [1\*] செ கீழ்ப்பெருர் கொடுத்த.

- 1 Read படகாரம்.  
2 Probably பத்தும்.  
3 Read செதுநெல் (= good paddy).  
4 Read திருப்பாங்கடல் as in other lines.  
5 Read திருவாள் நால் பின்றெ நால்.  
6 Read ஆள்வழிகொடுத்து.  
7 This is expressed by a contraction.  
8 There is some mistake here; it is perhaps கற்பிச்சிவமெல்லாம் செயல் ஒலெ.  
9 This may be நிச்சல் கடல்வடிக்கு as in L. 15 of the Mandalli plate, or நிச்சல் வடிக்கு.  
10 This ought to be முந்தப்பறக்கும் as in L. 21 below.  
11 There is a mistake here.  
12 Read perhaps ஆயிரமண்ணும்.  
13 There is some mistake here; probably it is நெடும்பறம்.  
14 Read நித்தஞ் செவத்துவ.  
15 பற is expressed by the symbol ௫.  
16 Read ஒருபறெ செய்தாக.  
17 Read மணிகண்ட அமயம்மாய; கீழ்ப்பெருர் உடய occurring after it. It has perhaps to be taken be-  
fore மணிகண்ட.  
18 Read செதுத்துமாறு.

- 18 ஆவணியாய பிள்ளையார் கருவடிக்கு ஒள்ள பழைக்குளமுடெ<sup>1</sup> கொட்டகார-  
க்கரை நெடுமண்ணும் காட்டமத்தல ஆற்றுவாச்செரியும் பள்ளிக்கல்  
பெரிய<sup>2</sup> மூம்மிக்கும் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டகிம்மெலும்
- 19 பண்டாரத்தில் நின்றெடுத்து கொடுத்த அச்ச உச்சரி னும்<sup>3</sup> செதுமாறு க-  
ற்பிச்ச நெல் திருநாற்றிநாற்பது பறயும் [4] திறப்பாப்பூர் தெவதா-  
ன் ஆவணியாய பிள்ளையார் கருவடிக்குள்ள
- 20 கரிச்செவும் நாலுபறெத்தலும்<sup>4</sup> முட்டக்காடும்<sup>5</sup> இவயூர்குடெ எப்பெர்ப்ப-  
ட்டகிம்மெலும் பண்டாரத்தில் சிந்தும் கொடுத்த அச்ச<sup>6</sup> ஒருநாற்றிநா-  
ல்பதின்னும் கொடுக்குமாறு

*Third plate: second side.*

- 21 கற்பிச்ச நெல் திருநாற்றிநாற்பது பறயும்[\*] கூடெ நெல்<sup>7</sup> கண்ட அடுள  
யும் கொண்டு நாள் ஒன்றின்ன நெல் முப்பறபால் அரி தெவர் இரட்ட-  
மடபால் நால்பத்தன்னாழி ஆவதும் மெற்ச்சாந்திக்கு அரி நாளுழி  
உரியும்
- 22 கிழ்ச்சாந்தி ஒன்றின்ன அரி முந்நாழி<sup>8</sup> அரியும் கிழ்ச்சாந்தி ஒன்றின்ன அரி-  
முந்நாழியும் சர்க்குடக்கு<sup>9</sup> அரி யிருநாழியும் முச்செடெ<sup>10</sup> ஸீவெலிக்கு  
X<sup>11</sup> வைச்சுவதெயத்தின்னும் அரி முந்நாழி<sup>12</sup> அரியும் புலரியெ திருஅமர்தினு
- 23 அரி அஞ்ஞாழியும் உச்சக்கெ தருஅமர்தின்ன அரி யிருபத்தொருநாழி<sup>13</sup> அ-  
ரியும் இரா அத்தாளத திருஅமர்கன்னு அரி அஞ்ஞாழியும் கூடெ அரி-  
நால்பத்தென்னாழியும் நெராக இம்மார்க்கமெ சிலவும்<sup>14</sup> சிலத்தி வருவி-  
தாவும் [15]
- 24 இதில் திருஅமர்து சிலவின்ற அரி முப்பத்தொருநாழி<sup>16</sup> அரியும் கொண்-  
வாரியது அஞ்ஞாழி அரி சொறும்<sup>17</sup> திறப்பள்ளிதாயத்தின்ன<sup>18</sup> நாலா-  
ழி அரி சொறும் திருமெனிகாவல்க்கு நில்ல்கும் பிள்ளெற்கு முந்நாழி  
அரிச் சொறும் திரு-
- 25 அமர்தின்ன நெல் குத்துவினும் கைவிளக்கு பிடிப்பினும்<sup>19</sup> செய்வின்றெ  
தெவடிச்சிகள்க்கு திருநாழி அரிச் சொறும் திருவெலிக்கு<sup>20</sup> பணியெ-  
ழுதும் கொட்டின்றெ<sup>21</sup> வபச்சகள் பெர் [எ]ழின்னும்

1 Read குளமுடெ.

2 There is some misreading here.

3 Read செதுமாறு.

4 The correct name cannot be guessed.

5 Read இவையுத் or it may be குளவையுக்கூட as in p. 51 of T. A. S. Vol. III.

6 Read இருநாழி.

7 Read துடிமெ.

8 Read உரியும், உ having been mis-read as அ.

9 திருக்குடைக்கு.

10 Read கிச்சல் (?) ஸீவெலிக்கும்.

11 Read வைச்சுவதெயத்தின்னும் (Skt. வெஸுதேவ).

12 Read செதுத்தி.

13 Read திருப்பள்ளித்தாயத்தின்ன

14 Read நாளுழி.

15 Cancel ம்.

16 Read திருப்பளிக்கு பணியெழுத்(ம்).

17 Read உவச்சகள்.

## Fourth plate: first side.

- 26 பெரென்றின்னு அரி யிருநாழி அரி<sup>1</sup> செந்நதாக பெர் எழின்னும் பதினெழு  
நாழி "அரி ச்சொறும் கொடுத்து நெராவருவிது [II\*] பெப்பு <sup>2</sup>கழிப்பு-  
முன்[பொ]ரான்டில் மெச்சாந்தி நம்பித்தெ
- 27 கொள்ளும் அச்ச இரண்டும் கிழ(ர்)ச்சாந்தியிடெ கொள்ளும் அச்ச ஒன்-  
டும் வாரியனிடெ கொள்ளும் அச்ச ஒன்றும் பள்ளித்தாயத்திடெ<sup>3</sup> கொ-  
ள்ளும் அச்ச ஒன்றும் கூடு. அச்ச
- 28 அஞ்சும முன்றெ ஆண்டில் நடெவழியிடெ<sup>4</sup> புவாண்டாடி கூடி சிரிகாரியம்  
செயின்னெறெ நெராயிம்மாரும் ஊராளும் கூடி. "தங்கநெஞ்சு வக கூலி-  
புடெ<sup>5</sup> கொள்ளாதெ
- 29 ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்தில் வைப்பிச்சு பட்டாரக்கரெக்கு வெண்டும் பாத்நிரத்தின்-  
னும் அழியின்னும் கொள்கிதாகவும் கற்பிச்சு [II\*] இச்சிலவு ஓராண்-  
டில் இரிருவரு கூடி செலத்துமாரும் கல்பிச்சுது [II\*]
- 30 இச்சிலவு முட்டுவிதாகில் ஊராழ்மமயெ விட்டு பொகிதாகவும் [II\*] பட்டா-  
ர[கர்க்\*] கொள்ள நெரம்மின்னும் ஸ்ரீகொனில்க்கும்<sup>6</sup> மொறெத்தம் வ-  
ரும்பெரழி தவிடெ கூடி நின்று

## Fourth plate: second side.

- 31 "பரிபரிசாதர் வரு அறதல [II\*] முதலாண்டு செலத்தும் ஊராளரு பெர் கு-  
ற்றம்பள்ளிச் சுவாகரன் தரமொதிரனும் பிணங்காட்டு நாராயணன் ஸ்ரீ-  
குமாரனும் இரண்டாமாண்டு வாரணக்கொட்டத்து
- 32 தெவநாராயணனும் குளங்காட்டு தெவடெ<sup>7</sup> கொடனும் முன்றாமாண்டு பு-  
துவாக்க வூரனம்<sup>8</sup> ந்தகுத்தனும் வாவுகாட்டு<sup>9</sup> திராதன் நெவனும்  
நாலாமாண்டு விலக்கிவிங்கலத்து தாமொதிரன் கிருட்டனும்
- 33 கழுசஞ்செரி சத்திவிக்கிரமனும் அய்யாமாண்டு மகழஞ்செரி விக்கிரம நாராய-  
ணனும் வஞ்ஞிப்புழெ ருத்திரன் சங்கா<sup>10</sup>னும் இம்மார்க்கமெ சிலவு சிலத்-  
தி இவர் ஒருத்திரில் முதற்புத்திர அதிகாரம் செலுத்தி ✓
- 34 வருவிதம்<sup>11</sup> [II\*] ஸ்ரீவிதெவ<sup>12</sup> மார்த்தாண்டவர்மம் திருவடி நகருரில்  
செங்குதழு<sup>13</sup> விசமங்கலத்து சுவாரநாராயணனிட்டெ<sup>14</sup> விலயில் கொண்-  
ட கிழக்காரண்டாரவி<sup>15</sup> பதின்புற வித்துபாடும் டெடியில் முந்தாறுபற

1 Read உரிச்சொறும் and உரிச்சொறும்.

2 பெயர்ப்பு கழிப்பு or ஒப்புகழிப்பு முன்றெ ஆண்டில்.

3 Read பள்ளித்தாமத்திடெ.

4 Probably நடவழியிடெ or நடுவாழியிடெ? as in l. 9 above.

5 This may perhaps be தங்கன்தங்கன் or தங்கன்கொள்ள as in l. 43 of the Mamballi plates.

6 Read கூலிக்.

7 It is not possible to make this out; it may be முறைகுற்றம்.

8 This may probably be பரியிரிவாதெ வரு அருது.

9 Read செவல் கொவனம்.

10 See footnote 1 on page 79 ante.

11 See footnote 2 on page 79 ante.

12 Read வருவிது or வருவிதாகவும்.

13 Read ஸ்ரீவிதெவமார்த்.

14 Read செங்குதழ்மம்.

15 Cancel ட்.

16 Probably கிழக்குண்டாரோடி.

- 35 நெல்லில் <sup>1</sup>கூறிக்கொடுத்த கரிக்கின்ற மெக்காணத்தூர் பூமி முப்பறெ வித்து பாடும் கூடே நிலம் பதிமுப்பறெ வித்துபாடும் அநின்னு <sup>2</sup>நடும் காடும்

[இது—க முதல் ச வரை செம்பு பட்டயம் சம் கண்டு எழுதியது]<sup>3</sup>

[Fifth plate missing.]

Sixth plate: first side.

[இ-மது பட்டயம் வந்திட்டில்லா -க மது-]

- 46 நிலம் இடங்நாழியால் எழுந்நாழி வித்துபாடும் <sup>4</sup>எண்ணிலம் பதினொருபற வித்துபாடும் தொட்டிக்கொடு நிலம் அயிம்பறெ வித்துபாடும் மண்ணடி நிலம்
- 47 எழுபற இடங்நாழியால் அஞ்ஞாழி வித்துபாடும் தடாங்கொடு நிலம் பந்திரு பறெ வித்துபாடும் வெட்டிக்கொடு நிலம் நாலுப்பறெ வித்துப்பாடும் வெட்டியத்துகண்டம் ஒருபறெ இடங்நாழியால் நிருநாழி
- 48 உரி வித்துபாடும் பெரும்பறையூர்<sup>5</sup> நிலம் ஒருபறெ வித்துபாடும் செங்குறு நிலம் பதின்பறெ வித்துபாடும் செறுமாவேலிநிலம் அயிம்பறெ வித்துபாடும் முண்டக்க நிலம் முப்பறெ வித்து பாடும் செறுகடமண்
- 49 நிலம் ஒருபற வித்துபாடும் கிர்த்திம்ங்கலம் பதிம்பறெ வித்துபாட்டிம் மெல் பாட்டெ<sup>6</sup> கொள்ளும் நெல் யிருபத்தொருபறையும் <sup>7</sup>அஞ்சளிகொள்ள பூமியதினு அயிம்பற வித்துபாடும் ஆக நிலம்
- 50 பதினாழி பறயால் ஒருதூற்றெழுபற வித்துபாடும் இவயூ<sup>10</sup> எல்லாற்றினும் ஒள்ள காடும் கரையும் கரப்பாபிட்டும் ஆளும் மிக் து ருந்நலத்தூர் <sup>11</sup>கண்ட-னாழ்த்திரனுடெ அகிகாராரு கொண்டய

1 Probably கூறிக்கொடுத்த[தி] கரிக்கின்ற.

2 Read படும்.

3 The portion in brackets indicates that the preceding is a true copy of the first four sheets of a set of copper plates.

4 This remark in the adjan copy indicates that the fifth plate of the set is missing and that the following is a transcript from the sixth plate onwards.

5 There is some mistake in the name of the land.

6 Read பெரும்பறையூர்.

7 செறுகெடுமண் occurs in L. 11 of the Mamballi plate of Virakōralavarman, and செறுகுழிமண் in L. 57.

8 Read பாட்டெ.

9 This may possibly refer to அஞ்சாவிவரம்.

10 Read இவை எல்லாவற்றினும்

11 Read கண்ட னாழ்த்திரனுடெ

## Sixth plate: second side.

- 51 தொம்ம எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் கூட கீழ்ப்பெரூர் திருப்பாற்க்கடல்பட்டார-  
கர்<sup>1</sup> தச்சிந்தாமாறு தெவரு கர்<sup>2</sup>மிதனொடு கூடா<sup>3</sup> விட்டுக் கொடுக்-  
து<sup>4</sup> கீழிலயம்<sup>5</sup> பெர் மெல்ப்பாதுயம் கிட்டி<sup>6</sup>
- 52 நிக்கி ஒள்ளது கொண்டு தச்ச பண்ணுமாதும் கல்ப்பிச்சு ஓலயும் எழுதி ஸ்ரீ-  
பண்டாரத்திலிட்டது [11\*] முந்தாற்றுநால்பத்தொன்றாமாண்டெ சிங்-  
கனாபயறு ஒன்று சென்ற நாள ஸ்ரீராம சிவத்தத்தில்<sup>7</sup> வக மிளியூர்<sup>8</sup>.
- 53 ப் பூமி யிருபதுபறெ வித்துபாடும் இதின்னு<sup>9</sup> நடுடு காடும் கரயும் கரப்பு-  
ரயிடமுள் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் வெம்பாய்<sup>10</sup> கூன்றஞ் சிவித்தத்தில் கண்ட-  
மங்கலத்தினெக்கொள்ள தொம்முடு காரியத்திம் மெடு<sup>11</sup> ஆண்டு-
- 54 வரெ கொள்ளும் நெல் பதின்பறயும் நெற்பாடு சிவித்தத்தில் சிளமனைக்கு ஒ-  
ள்ள தொம்மின்மெல் கொண்டுவரும் நெல் பதின்பறயும் மெல்ப்படியில்  
மெலச்செரி கண்டன் இரகிக் கொள்ள தொம்மின்மெல்
- 55 கொண்டுவரும் நெல் பதின்பறயும் மெலூர்க்கொள்ள தொம்மின்மெல் மெ-  
ல்ப்படியில் கொள்ளும் நெல் பதின்பறயும் ஆண்டு செதுவலளக்காத<sup>12</sup>-  
ரன் தொம்மின்மெல் கொண்டுவரும் நெல் பதின்பறயும்

## Seventh plate: first side.

- 56 ஆக ஆண்டுவரயும் பதினாழிப்பறயால் கொண்டுவரும் நெல் ஆயம்பதுபறெ-  
ச்<sup>13</sup> செந்தும் வரு<sup>14</sup> மிளியூர் நிலம் யிருபதுபற வித்துபாடுங் காடுங் கரயு-  
ம் கரெபுரயிடவும் கூட ஸ்ரீவிரவதெவ<sup>15</sup> மார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்ம திருவடி-
- 57 க் கமெஞ்ச ஆகிகாரர் விலயில் கொண்டு கிடந்தம்மார்க்கமெ கீழ்ப்பெரூர் தி-  
ருப்பாற்க்கடல் பட்டாரகர்க்கு சாந்திசெய்யும்<sup>16</sup> இரவியர் கீழ்ச்சாந்திக்கு  
<sup>11</sup>நிரத்தியாக ஆசந்திரவர் கற்பிச்சிது [11\*] முந்தாற்றுநாலா-

1 Probably செலவின்குமாத as in l. 72 of the Mamballi plates of Virakulavarman; but it is not certain. It may also be tuckhu (skt. Dīksha?) as in Tachukulaya-katnamai.

2 Read கூடி.

3 Read கொடுத்த.

4 This is not clear; it may perhaps be கீழியக்கம் as on page 91 of the T. A. S., Vol. IV.

5 Read கிட்டிக்வி.

6 Read சிவித்தத்தில்.

7 This occurs as வருமிளியூர் in line 56 below.

8 Read படுங்.

9 Read வெம்பாய்க்குன்றஞ்.

10 Read மெல் but the expression occurs in other places as தொம்மின்மெல்.

11 Probably செதுவலளக் கொள்ள.

12 ஆயம்பதுபறெச் செய்தும்.

13 This occurs as வகமிளியூர் in l. 52 above; but here it may be தெமிளியூர்.

14 Read வீர உதயமார்த்தாண்டம்.

15 Read இரு பியர் or இருவர்

16 Read விருத்தியாக.

- 58 மாண்டெ<sup>1</sup> மெடஞாயறு ஒன்று சென்ற-நாள்-முல்லக்கல் கெருளன்<sup>2</sup> ஆகிச்-  
சுவர்ம்மன் கீழ்க்கிள சிரெயூர்க்கலில் ஒற்றிகொண் டதிகரிக்கின்ற நிலம்<sup>3</sup>  
<sup>3</sup> அடிமயாலகொடு ந்தின்<sup>4</sup> அயிம்பற வித்துபாடும்<sup>5</sup> மலெக்கலில்
- 59 மூந்நணநப்பெருர் நிலம் அயிம்பறு பற வித்துபாடும்<sup>6</sup> ஷெயூர்<sup>7</sup> மெடுகெ-  
ருனி நிலம் மிருபறு பற வித்துபாடும்<sup>8</sup> ஆகயில்<sup>9</sup> என்பத்தன்பற வித்-  
துபாடினு உடென் ஆண்டுவரையும் அதிகாரக்கு கொடுக்குமாறு
- 60 கற்பிச்சு நெல் பதி[னா]ழி பறயால் நூறுபற<sup>10</sup> செவதும் ஆண்டு வரையும்  
தி[ரு\*]ப்பார்க்குடல்ப் பட்டாரகர்க்கு மெச்சாந்தி செய்யுமவர்க்கு மெ-  
ல்காந்தி விருத்திக்கு முன்னம் சிரெயூர்க்கலு

*Seventh plate: second side.*

- 61 மாருதூர் மண்டொடி மெடெ<sup>11</sup> கல்ப்பிச்ச நெல்லினு<sup>12</sup> புகரம்நிரத்தி வக-  
யிட்டு கொடுத்து<sup>13</sup> ஆண்டுவரையும் நெல் நூறுபறையும் அளவு கொடுத்து  
தெவரு கற்றமிகள் எழுத்தினால் குறியும் கொண்டு-
- 62 வருமாறும் இசிலவு ஒன்றுடெ<sup>14</sup> முட்டிகில் முட்டிரட்டியும் இரண்டு துடெ-  
முட்டிகில் முட்டிரட்டியும் தெண்டவும் மூன்று முட்டிகில்<sup>15</sup> கெருளன்<sup>16</sup>  
ஆகிச்ச-
- 63 வர்புமக்கொள்ள தொம்மு என்பத்தயிம்பறயும் வித்துபாடு ஆண்டுவரையும்  
நெல் நூறுபறயும் கொடுக்கவதும்<sup>17</sup> மெச்சாந்தி விருத்திக்கு அளவு  
கொள்ளுமாறும் அளவு கொடுக்குமாறும் கற்பிச்சு ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்தில்
- 64 ஸ்ரீயும் எழுதி யிட்டது [11\*] ந<sup>18</sup> . . . . டெ ய்துனஞாயறு காடவக்-  
குட்டுமலக்கு மெலத்திலதமங்கலத்து தெவன் இரங்கு இளம்பெல  
கொயிம்மாரொடு வளக்கு<sup>19</sup> நாயுடெ கயின்று
- 65 மொள்ள தொம்மு எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும்<sup>18</sup>

- 1 Read மாண்டெ as in other places.
- 2 Read செளன்.
- 3 The correct name is not known.
- 4 Read பதின் அயிம்பற which gives the total 85 parg in the next line.
- 5 Read முல்லக்கலில் as in line 58.
- 6 There seems to be some mistake in the name.
- 7 Read perhaps மெட்டுக்குழி or மெடுக்குழி?
- 8 Read ஆகயில் என்ப<sup>8</sup>.
- 9 நூறுபறச் செய்தும்.
- 10 Read மாருதூர் மண்டொடிமெல்.
- 11 It means 'after settling the equivalent'.
- 12 Read கொடுத்து.
- 13 Read ஒரு துடெ where துடெ is an incorrect form of தடவை. It occurs also as துடை in the Vellai inscription (Vol. III, p. 36).
- 14 துடெ is omitted after மூன்று; the penalty for the third default is not clearly expressed.
- 15 Read perhaps கொடுக்கவதும்.
- 16 The year has been left out.
- 17 This is unintelligible; நாயுடெ may be a misreading for காடு. பதின்ஞெ 2 occurs in the Tiruvallu plates as a land-name.
- 18 The catjan copy stops here.

## No. 25—Tiruvīdaṅḡodu Inscription of Kollam 864.

This inscription is engraved on a stone set up near the Mosque at Tiruvīdaṅḡodu and relates to the construction of a shed at Pūḍur for the convenience of strangers and registers a gift of land and *puraṇḍam* for its proper upkeep. The inscription is in the Tamil language and alphabet and its wording is rather very loose and redundant, as is the case with later epigraphs.

Text.<sup>1</sup>

## First face.

- 1 ஹரி நன்றாக [1\*]
- 2 சங்குத்தில னியாழ-
- 3 ம் நின்ற கொல்லம்
- 4 அா[சு]ரிச ஹு மார்க-
- 5 ழி பீம் உரிச சென்ற
- 6 புதனாச்சையும்
- 7 மகயிரமும் பூவ-  
8 பக்கிஷத்து திறையெ-
- 9 ரதெகியும் சபடி-
- 10 தமாறித்தியொக-
- 11 மும் இந்நாளால்
- 12 புதுஆர் தெசத்து
- 13 சுணக்கு தெவனிர-
- 14 வியும் பள்ளிச்.
- 15 சல் ஈச்சுவான்
- 16 ஈச்சுவரனும் பெ-
- 17 ர[ல்லா]பிள்ளையா-
- 18 ன் பிள்ளையானும்
- 19 ஷெ தெசத்து புது-
- 20 ஆர் அம்பலம் கே-
- 21 ட்டி முகிக்கையில்
- 22 சமும் குறைப்பணி-
- 23 யும் முகிச்ச தானபி-
- 24 தமாணமாக விட்டுருத்த
- 25 நிலம்[1\*] புதுஆர் தெ-
- 26 சத்து ஷெ குளத்தின்
- 27 கீழ் கீருண்டு உ விளை-
- 28 பு முருக்கறை தடி க உ
- 29 ன் ப—பும் ஷெ கண்ட-
- 30 ச்சை குளத்தின்
- 31 [கீழ்] பிள்ளையான்
- 32 பிள்ளையான ஒற-
- 33 [த்த]ன் நா[ரா]யணன்

*Second face.*

[One line damaged].

- 34 கொண்ட  
35 நடுவில் நிலம்  
36 ந. ப - க்கு எல்லை  
37 ஆனது [1\*] உப்பு-  
38 த்தறைக்கும் செ  
39 னம்ப [2\*] னைக்கும்  
40 நடுவில் நிலம்  
41 ந. ப. னைக்கும் [1\*] மு  
42 னோபுக்கும்  
43 நால்லெ [ல்\*] னை-  
44 க உழப்பட்ட  
45 நடுவில் நில-  
46 ம் ந. ப-யும் மு  
47 ருக்கறை-தடி  
48 க நீ - நால்-  
49 எல்கை உ-  
50 ழப்பட்ட நீ  
51 ந. ப-யும் ஆக-  
52 த்தடி இரண்-  
53 டி. னால் நிலம்  
54 ன. ப-யும் னை  
55 அம்பலத்து-  
56 க்கு னட்டு குடு-  
57 த்தா [ன்] நில-  
58 ம் காடும்  
59 கரையும்  
60 முருக்க[றை]  
61 விழாகம் உ-  
62 [டப்பட்ட] ந-  
63 ள்ள எல்கை  
64 உழப்பட்ட

*Third face.*

- 65 முருக்கறை விழாகம் பு-  
66 வரயடம் மண்ணடங்-  
67 க மரமடங்க தடி இர-  
68 ண்டி. னால் நிலம் ன. ப-யும்  
69 முருக்கறை விழாகம்  
70 புரயடம் [1\*] செ-  
71 யார் கெட்டி முக-  
72 ச்ச அம்பலத்துக்கு த-  
73 னனப்பிறமானமா-  
74 க நிலம் ன. ப-யும் புன-  
75 ரயடம் ஒன்றும் த-



- 76 றனப் பிரமாணம்-  
 77 ரக விட்டு கல்லும்  
 78 வெட்டி நாட்டிக்கு-  
 79 நித்தார்கள் [1\*] தெவன்  
 80 இரங் முதல் பெரும்  
 81 பள்ளிச்சல் ஈச்சு-  
 82 வரன் ஈச்சுவரனு-  
 83 ம் அய்யப்பன் மா-  
 84 டப்பன் முதல் பெ-  
 85 ரும் தானப்பிறமா-  
 86 ணமாக பிரமாங்கு-  
 87 ழியில் மெற்கு தெக்கு ஆக  
 88 நிக்ரும் குற்றிமரம் ஒன் னுங்  
 89 கூட கல்லுவெட்டி நாட்டி  
 90 க்குமித்த . . [1\*] . . .  
 91 க்கில் பொகிற . ண்டாம்  
 92 நிலமும் புரையிடமும்  
 93 யாவிச்சுக்கொண்டு த-  
 94 [ன்]மம் இறுத்தினபடி த-  
 95 ண்ணிரும் [சுண்ண]ம்பு-  
 96 ம் குமித்து அம்பலத்தில்  
 97 . . . . .

*Fourth face.*

- 98 சாவடியும்  
 99 கெட்டிப்பெ-  
 100 ணிவைச்சு-  
 101 கொண்டு இ-  
 102 ருக்கையில்  
 103 இச்சிலத்தினு-  
 104 ம் புரையிட-  
 105 த்தினு தடை-  
 106 இடைக்க . .  
 107 ருகில் ஷெ தெ-  
 108 சத்து நாலு வெ-  
 109 பருக கூடி த-  
 110 டை தித்து குடு-  
 111 க்குமாறும் [1\*]இ-  
 112 ந்தி[ல\*]த்தினும் புன-  
 113 ரயடத்தினும்  
 114 யாதா ஒருவ-  
 115 ர் ஆகிலும் இர-  
 116 ண்டகம் நி[இ]-  
 117 னக்கி[ன்ற]பெர் வெ-  
 118 கங்கைக்கரை-  
 119 யில்[நி]ன்று  
 120 காராம் ப-

- 121 காவக்கெ[ச\*]-  
 122 ன்ற தெழ-  
 123 மும் [கைய]ெ-  
 124 பத்துகொ-  
 125 ள்ஞவாரா-  
 126 கவும் [1\*]இப்ப-  
 127 டி தம்மதித்து  
 128 இந்நிலமும்  
 129 புரயடமு-  
 130 ம் தானப்பி-  
 131 மமரணயா-  
 132 க் கல்வெட்டி-  
 133 ட்டிக்கு-  
 134 . . . . .  
 135 . . . . .

Translation.

Hari ! Be it well ! On this day *i. e.*, the 24th expired of the month of Mārgaṣi in the Kollam year 864 in which Jupiter stood in Simha, a Wednesday the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight which had Mṛigaśīrsha-nakṣatra and Subhābrahma-yōga, Dēvaṇ-īraṇi, the accountant of Pudiuvūr, Iḥechuvāraṇ of Paḷliccheḷai and Poḷḷappiḷḷai *alias* Pillaiyāṇ, who took up the construction of the *ambalam* (temple) at Pudiuvūr, completed the balance of work and made the following gifts of land:—

(i) The paddy yielding land called Murukkarai fed by the tank in Pudiuvūr-dēṣam, 1 *taḍi* (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of three *kuṟuṇi*,

(ii) the middle (block of) land within the four peg-marked boundaries (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuṟuṇi* watered by Kuṇḍachchaikuḷam and obtained from Oṟattam-Nārāyaṇam, the son of Pillaiyāṇ, *i. e.*, the three *kuṟuṇi* of land lying between Upputtarai and Śeṇamparai.

Thus the lands, *viz.*, the middle peg-marked block (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuṟuṇi* and the land called the Murukkarai, which is 1 *taḍi* (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuṟuṇi*—altogether, lands (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kuṟuṇi*; these lands were assigned to the said temple inclusive of *nilam*, *kāḍu*, *karai*, Murukkarai-viḷāgam with its four boundaries, and the soil of and trees on the *puraiyidam* called the Murukkarai-viḷāgam-puraiyidam. These lands (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in two *taḍi* and Murukkarai-viḷāgam-puraiyidam, were given as charity to the shed built by the said persons, and they had the gift engraved on stone and had it setup.

Dēvaṇ-īraṇi, Iḥechuvāraṇ-Iḥechuvāraṇ of Paḷliccheḷai, Ayyappaṇ-Madappaṇ and others also gave as charity the *kuṟṟi* tree, which lies in the west and south of Piraṁāṅguḷi.

If while in enjoyment of these two lands and the *puraiyidam*, they conduct the charity supplying water and chunna, and . . . . in a *chāvadi* built in the *ambalam*, and any impediment or obstruction arise to the said lands and *puraiyidam*, the four persons of the said village shall meet and jointly free the impediment.

If any one think evil to these lands and *puraiyidam*, he shall incur the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges.

Thus agreeing, these lands and *puraiyidam* were given as charity, accompanied by a deed which was engraved on a stone and set up.

### No. 26—Tiruvidangodu Inscription of Kollam 626.

The subjoined inscription is engraved in Vatteluttu on a stone set up near the girls' school at Tiruvidangōdu. On the importance of this document, the following note has been made in the Annual Report for 1896 M. E.—

"It tells us that there existed sharp differences between the two communities of Vellāṇḍar and Vellālar from times earlier than the date of the record i. e., Kollam 628, Sittirai 9, leading even to a cleavage and to the adoption of such measures as were calculated to provoke a complete estrangement of the two sects. The inscription registers a social ostracism passed by the Vellālar against the Vellāṇḍar for some offence committed by the latter. This order is further stated to be in accordance with two other previous stone epigraphs on the same subject. It lays down that the Vellāṇḍar should not be allowed to take in marriage any girls from the Tamil parts, that they should not be engaged even for cooly wages, that they should not be made to write public accounts or to manage the administration of the country, and that they should not enter in to any kind of transactions with them. At the end of the inscription is given a list of 23 persons who committed the offence which gave rise to this piece of drastic legislation; and it is said that these 23 persons should be put to death wherever found. It may be thought that by Vellāṇḍar, persons belonging to the modern *nāḍar* sect are meant. In this connection it is worth remembering that in the first of the clauses given above *viz.*, that the Vellāṇḍar should not be allowed to marry girls from the Tamil country shows clearly that the two sects could intermarry before. Besides, all through the record the word used is *nāḍar* and not *nāḍār*. As such, we may assume that the latter community is not meant by the inscription. The Vellāṇḍar who have to be regarded as equal in their social status to the Tamil Vellālar and as having marital connections with them prior to the commission of the offence, should have been so termed from the country (*nāḍu*) whence they originally hailed; and it is not unlikely that country is in South Travancore."

A similar record exists at Kallidaikkurichchi in the Tinnevely District.

#### Text.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 ஸ்வஸி ஸ்ரீ [11\*] நன் ஞக
- 2 கொல்லம் சுருட்டி அ.
- 3 டாமாண்டு சித்திரை
- 4 மாதம் கூட முன்-
- 5 இவ் நாட்டிய க-
- 6 ஸ்ரீ இரண்டி[து]ம் வெ.

<sup>1</sup> Registered as No. 67 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1896 M. E.

- 7 ஸ்ளாழைற வெள்ளநாட்-
- 8 ர் பிழைக்கையாலெ நாட்-
- 9 டி.ப கல்வினு படி எ-
- 10 நெதவண்ணமே இப்-
- 11 பொது வெள்ள[ள]ழை வெ-
- 12 ஸ்ளநாடர் பிழைக்க-
- 13 யாலெ வெள்ளநாடர்
- 14 தமிழ்ப் பாகத்துப் பெண்-
- 15 னை கெட்டருதென்றும்
- 16 கைய்யானருதென்றும் ந-
- 17 ம்பொருட்குடக் கூ-
- 18 ஸிச்செவகம் செனிக்-
- 19 கருதென்றும் காரண-
- 20 ப்பட அருதென்று-
- 21 ம் காரியம், பறைய
- 22 அருதென்[து]ம் கணக்கெ-
- 23 முகருதென்றும் தெச-
- 24 ம் கைய்யான அரு-
- 25 தென்றும் கல்பி-
- 26 ச்ச [11<sup>\*</sup>]பிழைச்சவர்.

Second face.

- 27 க்கு பெர்-
- 28 வழி பறு
- 29 வன வகை-
- 30 ன்ருதும்
- 31 அய்ய[ப<sup>\*</sup>]பன்
- 32 மாத்தாண்டன-
- 33 ம் குமாண்
- 34 ராமனும் அ-
- 35 ய்யப்பா-
- 36 ண்டயும் மா-
- 37 த்தாண்ட மழ-
- 38 வராயனும்
- 39 [து]ம்பிச்சல்
- 40 மாத்தாண்ட ம-
- 41 முவராயனும்
- 42 நயபன் தொ-
- 43 ண்டைமரனும்
- 44 தெதா மாத்தா-
- 45 ண்டபணிக்-
- 46 னும் காரை கு-
- 47 ன்றனும் கோட-
- 48 றுர் முதலியா-
- 49 னும் பர்ப்ப-
- 50 ண் பர்ப்பன் ம-
- 51 க்கள் இரண்டு

*Third face.*

- 52 பெரும் படைச்ச-  
 53 ல முத்தையா னும்  
 54 மாலயி னிரட-  
 55 பர ஈச்சுமடி பெ-  
 56 ரூர் நாயர் ஆய்பன்  
 57 பாப்பனும் மாத்தாண்ட  
 58 டனும் ஆருசெம்மி-  
 59 பணிக்கனும் சடை-  
 60 யன் கொதையும் வ-  
 61 ளவன்(ன்) கண்ணனும்  
 62 இமி[ச]ம் முருகனும்  
 63 தூவத்தி இ[ராமன]ம்  
 64 ஆகப்பெர் [உயிந]ம கண்-  
 65 [டு]ட்டத்து கொல்லுமாறு  
 66 கல்பரிச்சது [II\*]

**Translation.**

Hail ! Prosperity ! Be it well ! On this day, the 9th of the month of Sittirai in the Kollani year 628, as the Vellanaḍar offended the Vellālar, the following stipulations are ordered, just as they were adopted in two stone inscriptions set up on a previous occasion, when the (same) Vellanaḍar had offended the Vellālar:—

The Vellanaḍar should not marry girls from the Tamil parts: neither should they keep them. They should not do even cooly service with us. They should not transact any business with us. They should not write (our) accounts or be allowed to manage the administration of (our) villages.

The list of persons who offended (in the present instance) are.— . . . . .  
 Suvāṅgaran; Ayyappaṇ-Mārttaṇḍan, Kinnāraṇ-Rāmaṇ, Ayyappāṇḍai, Mārttaṇḍa-Maḷavarāyaṇ, Tumbichela-Mārttaṇḍa Maḷavarāyaṇ, Nambāṇ-Tondaimaṇ, Sēḍo Mārttaṇḍa-Paṇikkaṇ, Kāraṇi-Kuṇraṇ, Kōttur-Mudaliyaṇ, Parpaṇ; the two sons of Parpaṇ-Padiachchul-Muttaiyaṇ, Maḷambi, Nirappara-Ichchambi, Pērūr-Nāyar, Ayyaṇ-Pappaṇ, Mārttaṇḍan, Ārusembi-Paṇikkaṇ, Sādaiyaṇ-Kōḍai, Valayaṇ-Kaṇṇaṇ, Inigam-Murugaṇ, Tūvattu Irāmaṇ . . . . .

In all, (these) twenty-three persons are ordered to be put to death wherever seen.

## APPENDIX.

PAGE.	KOLLAM DATES AND THEIR ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS.
13	Šaka 1691, Kollam 945, Viśdhin, Arpaśi 23, Sunday, Uttirādam śu. 7; = A. D. 1769, Sunday, November 5; f.d.t. '03; '43.
27	Kollam 925, Tai 5, Saturnin Vriśchika, Jupiter in Mīna, Wednesday, śu. 7; = A. D. 1750, Wednesday, January 3; '76; (Revati '86).
44	Kollam 278, Jupiter in Kani, Simha 9; Details not enough for verification; but the English date may cor- respond to A. D. 1102 August 4, Monday, ba. 4'16; 27'51.
56	Kollam 878, Idavam 7, Thursday, Rōhipī, śu. tritīyā; = A. D. 1703, Thursday, May 6. On this day <i>tritīyā</i> commenced at '95 and Rōhipī was current till '29 only. 'Idavam 7 <i>śenna</i> ' has to be taken in the sense of 'expired', for May 6, Thursday, was Idav- am 8.
57	Kollam 878, Idavam 16, Saturday, Hastā, śu. ekādaśī; = A. D. 1703, Saturday, May 15; f.d.t. '09; '76. Here also May 15, Saturday, was Idavam 17.
61	Kollam 240 (?), Mīna 12, Wednesday, Makayiram, pañchamī. These details are wrong for Kollam 240, which is evidently a mis- take.
73	Kollam 343, Jupiter in Makain, Meḍam 12, Thursday, Uttiram, trayō- daśī; = A. D. 1168, Thursday, April 4; but the <i>tithi</i> and <i>nakshatra</i> were respectively ba. 10 '90; ad 23 '63.
86	Kollam 864, Mārgaśi 20, Wednesday, Makayiram, śu. 13; = A. D. 1688, Wednesday, December 19, but the <i>tithi</i> and <i>naksha- tra</i> were in 7'44 and 1 Blad. 65; but on A. D. 1688, Monday, December 24, the <i>tithi</i> was śu. 13'88 and nak. Mrig. commenced from '33 of day.

No. 1—appeared in the *Modern Review* for October 23.

No. 5—appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* for January 24.

